



# MISSIONARY VOYAGE

TO THE



MISSIONARY VOYAGE





A  
**MISSIONARY VOYAGE**  
TO THE  
**SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN,**

PERFORMED IN THE YEARS, 1796, 1797, 1798,

IN THE

**SHIP DUFF,**

COMMANDED BY

**CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON.**

COMPILED

FROM JOURNALS OF THE OFFICERS AND THE MISSIONARIES,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

**Maps, Charts, and Views,**

Drawn by MR. WILLIAM WILSON, and engraved by the most eminent Artists.

WITH

**A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE**

ON THE

**GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS;**

AND AN

**APPENDIX,**

INCLUDING DETAILS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED, OF

**THE NATURAL AND CIVIL STATE OF OTAHEITE,**

BY A COMMITTEE APPOINTED FOR THE PURPOSE

*By the Directors of the Missionary Society.*

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SOCIETY.

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**1799.**



TO  
THE KING.

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SIRE,

TO whom can the Missionary Society so properly dedicate these first-fruits of their labours as to YOUR MAJESTY, by whose order the voyages of discovery were first undertaken, which have brought into view the numerous islands dispersed over the Pacific Ocean? The reports made concerning them attracted the general attention of European nations; and YOUR MAJESTY'S subjects felt themselves peculiarly interested, whether their views led them to consider these discoveries as tending to enlarge the bounds of science, or as opening a field of commercial speculation. A nobler object, Sire, has engaged the attention of the Missionary Society, who, believing CHRISTIANITY to be the greatest blessing ever imparted to mankind, desired to communicate that inestimable gift, with all its happy effects, to these unenlightened regions.

## DEDICATION.

On landing among these islanders, our compassions were more powerfully excited to find their population greatly diminished, and, through the prevalence of vice, tending to utter extinction. On this account we conceive it to be our duty to make the most vigorous efforts, in dependence on the blessing of Almighty God, for the amelioration of their wretched estate.

Perfused of YOUR MAJESTY'S gracious approbation of our labours, and encouraged by the most auspicious commencements, we have determined on renewed exertions. Whatever beneficial consequences may result from the attempt, we shall be happy to ascribe them, under GOD, to YOUR MAJESTY'S government as their origin ; and we embrace this public occasion of offering the dutiful homage of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most respectful and loyal subjects,

THE DIRECTORS OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

# ADVERTISEMENT.



THE impatience of our brethren to gratify the curiosity of the public, must plead our excuse that the following papers are arranged in a less lucid order than we could have wished. In collecting from the public and private journals, we have desired to preserve the language of the relator, which, if not the most polished, may notwithstanding be the most affecting. The body of the journal is the composition of Mr. William Wilson, from the Captain's papers, his own, and the Missionaries' reports. As there was a necessity of filling up some chapters from the journals of the Missionaries themselves, there will sometimes be observed a change of persons, according as individuals, or the body, are introduced speaking; but this defect it is hoped our readers will pardon. It was deemed improper to alter customary maritime phrases for the sake of grammatical accuracy. We shall be truly happy, if the information here detailed shall produce some powerful impression on the minds of our countrymen; interest them more tenderly in behalf of the wretched heathen; and excite suitable efforts to repair the miseries which Europeans have in part occasioned, as well as to rescue from destruction of body and soul a gentle race of fellow-men, who have toward our own nation especially, expressed the most affectionate attachment.



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# PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE;

CONTAINING .

*A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT*

OF THE

ISLANDS WHERE MISSIONARIES HAVE SETTLED,

AND OF OTHERS WITH WHICH THEY ARE CONNECTED.



**T**HE relation which geographical knowledge bears to missionary exertion is as obvious as it is important. If sincere and enlightened Christians had been attentive to the magnitude, the population, and the moral and religious state of the countries which are still destitute of the gospel, it seems impossible that they should ever have remitted their labours for the conversion of the heathen. A deficiency of information upon these interesting subjects is not merely to be lamented as an occasion of fatal negligence; it is also to be guarded against as a cause of error, and of failure, in the conduct of missionary efforts. If these are excited only by casual discoveries of the wretched condition in which some detached parts of the heathen world exist, other nations are liable to be disregarded, which, in a variety of respects, might be preferable objects of evangelical missions.

For the reasons which determined the Missionary Society at London to commence its operations with a voyage to the Pacific Ocean, we refer the reader to a well-known Memoir, which was publicly delivered when the Society was formed in September 1795, and is annexed to an impression of the Sermons that were preached on the occasion. That decision having been made, the utmost diligence was used to collect into a distinct and comprehensive view, the information that

was scattered through numerous printed volumes, or was attainable by means of manuscript and verbal communications, respecting those islands which it appeared practicable to visit in the projected voyage. An extensive compilation of this nature was put into the hands of the missionaries; and several maps were constructed, to illustrate the geographical details, as well as to assist the intended navigation; the materials from which these were formed having till then remained unconnected, or been exhibited only upon a minute general scale.

By an abridgment of the accounts thus compiled, it is attempted, in this preliminary discourse, to gratify persons who may wish for a compendium of the principal information to be derived from former voyages respecting the three islands to which our missionaries have happily gained access. These places are described in the same order in which they were visited by Captain Wilson; and to the account of each is subjoined a brief description of other islands with which a habitual intercourse is maintained from thence; and to which we may therefore hope the usefulness of our brethren will gradually be extended.\* A few general remarks upon the Pacific Ocean, and the countries situated within its limits, appear necessary both to introduce and to conclude the whole.

This ocean, which covers almost half the globe, was unknown to Europeans at the commencement of the sixteenth century, having been first seen from the isthmus that connects the continents called North and South America, on the 25th of September 1513, by a Spaniard named Vasco Nunez de Balboa. Its western boundary had been approached by the Portuguese only two years earlier. Francisco Serranno having discovered the Molucca islands immediately after the conquest of Malacca by the celebrated Albuquerque. To stimulate exertion, and to preclude contention in the rival discoverers from Spain

\* The general chart of Captain Wilson's track is necessarily upon too small a scale to afford a suitable representation of these islands; but they are all delineated, an inch to a degree, in one of the above-mentioned maps, which has been published for the benefit of the Missionary Society, and is sold by Mr. Faden, Charing Cross, and Mr. Chapman, Fleet Street, price 10s. 6d. plain, or 15s. coloured.

and Portugal, Pope Alexander the Sixth consigned to the dominion of these two nations all heathen countries that should be discovered by them; and allotted to each one half of the globe, commencing from the western limits of Brazil in South America, of which province the Portuguese had previously obtained possession. The imperfection of geographical science at that time left it doubtful to *which* of these hemispheres the Moluccas belonged; and the precious spices peculiar to those small islands rendered the decision important. To ascertain this was the purpose of the first voyage across the Pacific Ocean. It was planned and executed by Hernando de Magalhães, who had served under Albuquerque at Malacca; but having been ill rewarded by the court of Portugal, he withdrew to Spain, from whence he sailed with five ships under his command on the 21st of September 1519. He wintered in South America, and, in the October following, discovered the strait which has since borne his name. He entered the great South Sea on the 28th of November 1520; and having advanced northward to the tropic of Capricorn, proceeded in a north-west course with such ease and rapidity, that he judged the vast ocean he was traversing worthy to be called the PACIFIC. It is well known, that the prevailing winds between the tropics follow the path of the sun, where they are not diverted from it by heights of land; and the incomparable breadth of this ocean affords an uninterrupted passage to those easterly currents of air, which, on account of the advantages that navigators derive from their regularity, are called the trade winds. Magalhães having crossed the equator too soon to meet with the fertile islands of the southern tropic, found no place of refreshment till the 6th of March 1521, when he discovered a range of small islands in the longitude of 146 degrees east from Greenwich, and extending from 13 to 20½ degrees of north latitude. He named them Ladrões, on account of the thievish disposition of the natives, which has since been found universal in the Pacific Ocean. Proceeding westward he discovered on the 10th of the same month, one of the islands which have since been called the Philippines. They form the northernmost

part of the grand archipelago which borders the coast of Asia, extending from 10 degrees north latitude and 122 degrees east longitude, south-westward to Malacca, and south-eastward to New Guinea. At a small island of this group Magalhanes finished his course, being killed in an encounter with the natives on the 27th of April. Some of his ships afterward reached the Moluccas, the object of their pursuit; which are situated amidst more extensive islands, in the 1st degree of north latitude, and in  $127\frac{1}{2}$  degrees east longitude. One ship only of the squadron, named the Victory, with a crew of no more than thirty persons, under the command of Sebastian Cano, returned by the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, having accomplished the first circumnavigation of the world within a period of three years.

Having, by a sketch of this voyage, paid a tribute to the memory of Magalhanes, who conducted an unequalled enterprise with the utmost fortitude and skill, we can only notice succeeding navigators in connexion with the islands to be described. In pointing out the situations of these, their latitude must be understood to be southward from the equator, if not otherwise expressed; and their longitude is reckoned eastward and westward from the observatory at Greenwich toward its anti-meridian.

The want of a proper guide for the pronunciation of names used by the South-Sea islanders, and the diversity of modes in which they have been spelt by writers and compilers of voyages, have long been subjects of complaint. The remedy has become difficult in proportion to the extent of the evil. The variety of journals from which extracts are given in the narrative of Captain Wilson's voyage, has frustrated, in a great measure, the endeavours that were used to adopt an uniform and distinct orthography throughout the volume. Whether the attempt made for that purpose, in compiling the present introductory discourse, is more successful, must be left to the decision of the reader. His attention is requested to the following rules of pronunciation, in which the genius of the language that is

common to the places described, and the established orthography of those names which have become most familiar, have been reciprocally consulted.

1st. When a single vowel forms or closes a syllable;

*a* is sounded as in *father*;

*e* as in *equal*;

*o* as in *open*;

*u* as in *duty*.

2dly. When two vowels come together,

*ae* has the same sound with the adverb *ay*;

*ai* is sounded as in *fail*;

*au* as in *autumn*;

*ei* has the sound of *i* long; for which this improper diphthong has, from the first, been substituted in names that are now become too familiar to be altered, as in *Otaheite*, *Eimeo*, *Huaheine*, &c.

*eo* is sounded as in the adverb *too*, for a similar reason;

*ou* as in *our*; and

*ee* has the same sound with *oy* in English words, as *joy*, &c.

All other combinations of vowels are to be pronounced, according to the preceding rules, in distinct syllables.

3dly. When any single vowel is followed, in the same syllable, by a consonant, it has its shortest sound; as in *matter*, *gift*, *etter*, *upward*.

4thly. Every consonant, single vowel, or diphthong, uniformly retains a distinct and appropriate sound, subject to the preceding rules. The letters *re* and *y* are therefore used only as consonants; *g* is always hard; and *th* is always sounded as in *think*. The *e* is never mute. Thus *Otaheite* is to be pronounced so as to rhyme with the adjective *mighty*.

5thly. That syllable on which the strongest emphasis is to be placed is marked as a long syllable (so *Tongatabōo*, *Ohittahoo*) when the words first occur: but this distinction, agreeably to



Rule 4th, indicates no other change in the sound of the vowels over which it is placed.

It appears necessary farther to remark, that, as the dissertations which form the Appendix of this volume, contain a copious description of the natural and civil state of Otaheite, nothing relative to that island is requisite here, but a history of transactions that occurred previous to the voyage of the *Duff*. A prior perusal of the dissertations will therefore be useful to those of our readers who desire to have in view the circumstances and established customs of the natives, while they pursue the history. It may also assist to understand the brief descriptions here given of the other islands, in which, to avoid tautology, the points wherein they vary from Otaheite are principally insisted on. The conciseness that was indispensable, precluded observations which naturally result from the various facts that are mentioned in the following account; but we hope that this deficiency will be supplied by the reflections of our serious readers. From a comparison between the several parts of this volume, it will probably be acknowledged, in general, that additional demonstration is afforded to some very important truths: such are—the insufficiency of every natural enjoyment to establish the real welfare of mankind; the tendency of an unrestrained gratification of appetites and passions to produce horrid and destructive crimes; the advantages for which the most civilized nations are in reality indebted to the gospel; and the far greater blessings that are derived from the same source by them who enter into the spirit and power of christianity.

*Historical Account of Otaheite.*

FREQUENT as the intercourse of Europeans with the natives of this island has been for the last thirty years, it is uncertain whether any interview between them had occurred at an earlier period. While the identity of various islands visited by modern navigators, with the early discoveries of the Spaniards, has been indubitably proved, it is barely probable that Otaheite was seen by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1606. He had sailed with two ships from Lima in Peru, to search for a continent, which he supposed to exist in the neighbourhood of several islands that had been discovered by him in a voyage performed eleven years before. For this purpose he proceeded southward to the 27th degree of latitude; but meeting only with a few low islands, he returned into the latitude of his former discoveries, and on his way fell in with an island, 11th February, which, on account of the curve described by its shores, he named Sagittaria. His smaller vessel anchored in a bay on the south coast; but the boats were prevented landing by the surf which beat upon the reefs. A young man, named Francisco Ponce, swam with much hazard to a rock, where the islanders met and caressed him; others of the Spaniards, imitating the spirited example of Ponce, were equally well received. When they swam back to the boats, they were accompanied by several of the natives, who, after having some presents made to them, returned, well pleased, to their comrades on shore. The next day the Spaniards, having hauled their boats over the reef, landed, without seeing any of the inhabitants; they proceeded through a thick wood (in which they found a morae, and erected a crucifix) toward a bay upon the opposite side of the island. They could obtain no fresh water in a plain which they searched for it; but refreshed themselves with the milk of cocoa-nuts, which grew there abundantly. Loaded with this fruit, they returned

to the landing-place, in water up to their knees, along the meadow, over which the tide had flowed; they re-embarked however without difficulty, a passage through the reef having been found for the boats; and a very aged woman, whom they had met in the woods, willingly accompanied them to the ships, where she was clothed and fed. When she was sent back to shore, she directed the Spaniards to some of her countrymen, who were occupied with their canoes. The islanders behaved amicably; and some of them, with their chief, ventured to go off with several Spaniards in the boat; but being suddenly alarmed, they leaped into the sea, except the chief, who was detained by force till they reached Quiros's ship. They could not persuade him to go on board; and therefore, having made him some presents, sent back the boat with him. The few Spaniards who remained on shore had been surrounded, and threatened, by more than a hundred of the natives, armed with spears and clubs. Upon the safe return of the chief, a perfect reconciliation took place; and they parted very amicably, the natives proceeding toward a small islet. They are described as of a mulatto colour, well made, and destitute of clothing, except the women, who were covered from the waist downward with cloth made of bark.

Quiros coasted this island to the north-west the following day, and at noon observed the latitude to be  $17^{\circ} 40'$ . This coincides with the western side of Otaheite; but the silence of Quiros respecting the island of Eimëo, which would have been in sight from thence, is perfectly unaccountable, and involves the identity of Otaheite with the Sagittaria of Quiros in much doubt. On the other hand, the place where the Spaniards landed, agrees very well with the isthmus by which the two peninsulas of Otaheite are connected. The preceding account will enable our readers to form their own sentiments upon a subject of which different judgments have been adopted by respectable geographers.

Captain Wallis, in his Majesty's ship *Dolphin*, discovered Otaheite on the 19th of June 1767. The vessel being close to the south-east end of the island, was surrounded by a great number of canoes, with

more than eight hundred people on board : they, in general, behaved amicably, excepting that they stole every thing they could seize. These practices brought on a slight skirmish, but peace was soon apparently established. Captain Wallis succeeded in getting to windward of the island during the night, and the next day sailed along the eastern coast. On the following he anchored near the north-eastern shore : and his boats being employed in founding, were attacked by the islanders, one of whom was killed, and another wounded in the contest. Traffic was notwithstanding speedily restored. The native women used the most shameless enticements to induce the sailors to land, but they had the precaution not to quit their boats ; and some small casks, which they entrusted to the islanders to procure fresh water, were stolen by them.

Captain Wallis having weighed anchor on the 23d, discovered the bay which is formed by the coast of Mattavæ, the northernmost district of the island. Having doubled its north-eastern cape, since called Point Venus, the Dolphin struck upon a coral rock which is detached from the reef that borders the coast. The ship remained immoveable almost an hour, and was then unexpectedly relieved by a breeze which sprung up from the shore. The natives, in many hundred canoes, waited around to see the event, which was likely to have been attended with the entire destruction of the crew. They anchored, however, soon afterward in the bay, and the vessel was found to have received little damage. The following day, while warping nearer to the shore, they were attacked by a multitude of large canoes, and showers of heavy stones were poured in every direction upon the ship. The islanders renewed the assault, even when they had been repulsed by the great guns ; but after repeated experience of their destructive effects, they dispersed, and fled to the mountains.

The ship having been moored abreast of the river of Mattavæ, Lieutenant Furneaux landed, and without opposition erected a British pendant on the shore, and formally took possession of the island in the name of his own sovereign. This is a ceremony which has been con-

## PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE.

continued from the period when it was supposed that the pope had a right to dispose of all countries inhabited by heathens. Whatever idea the islanders formed of this transaction, they did not suffer the flag to remain till the following day. Oāmno, who at that time governed the larger peninsula of Otaheite in behalf of his son Temāre, caused it to be taken away during the night; and it was used long after as a kind of dress which constitutes the badge of royalty. The next morning a party of sailors were compelled by the natives to retire from the river, to which they had been sent for fresh water; but the crowd being dispersed by the ship's guns, and many of their canoes being demolished by way of punishment, they gave up their attempts at resistance, and from that time became peaceable and docile. Oāmno retired from the scene, probably lest the English should revenge upon his person the assaults they had sustained. His consort Oberēa (or Poorēa) had been separated from him after the birth of Temāre, apparently on account of her reluctance to destroy the child. Her authority was not diminished by their separation, and she exercised it in affording the most hospitable reception to Captain Wallis and his people, many of whom were much reduced by illness. These were stationed on shore, and a regular traffic was established for fresh provisions. It was however, soon interrupted, and great inconvenience produced, by the licentious intercourse of the crew with the female islanders. This was unlikely to be checked by Oberēa, whose character for sensuality exceeded even the usual standard at Otaheite. At this time she cohabited with Toopāea, who had fled from his native place, Ulietēa, and had been appointed chief priest at this island. He excelled all the South-Sea islanders that have been known, for information and sagacity; and distinguished himself very early by his inquisitive disposition, and his aptness to imitate the manners of the English. An elderly man, of inferior rank, named Owāu, likewise rendered himself remarkable and useful, by his friendly attention to the navigators, and the prudence with which he negotiated between them and his countrymen. Under his guidance Mr. Gore made some progress into

the interior of the island; and when provisions became scarce at Matavai. Owahou procured them from other districts. Ample supplies having been obtained, and the health of the ship's company being re-established, Captain Wallis sailed on the 27th of July. He requested the hospitality of Oberea with a variety of presents; among which were turkies, a gander and goose, and a cat; with many iron utensils, which the natives were eager to obtain, having learned the use of them from a neighbouring low island, named Tappooohoe, where a Dutch ship, belonging to Roggewein's squadron, had been wrecked forty-five years before.

Early in April, 1768, Otaheite was again visited by Europeans. M. de Bougainville, in the *Boudeuse* frigate, accompanied by a store-ship, coasted this island to the eastward, as Wallis had done; but was deterred from doubling Point Venus, by the appearance of the reef which encloses it. A timid caution, which most of the French navigators have betrayed when at sea, exposed M. de Bougainville to the inconvenience of anchoring within a reef on the windward side of the island. He was amicably received by Orëtte, chief of Hedëa, the district where the ships were moored. This person's brother, Outōoroo, attached himself to the commander immediately upon his arrival, and afterward accompanied him to France. The father of these young men, Owahōu, and some other principal people of the district, objected, however, to the sick persons being landed from the ships, till an assurance was given that they would not remain many days.

M. de Bougainville was soon visited by Tootahā, youngest brother of Oāmmo, who presided over the westernmost districts of the island. He was accompanied by several others of the royal family, whose superior stature distinguished them from the rest of the company. It does not appear that Oammo, or Oberea, whose usual residence was at the southernmost part of the larger peninsula, visited Hedëa during the stay of the French, which lasted only eight days. It was apparently rendered the more pacific, in consequence of the experience the islanders had derived from Captain Wallis's visit, whom they supposed

to have come from the same country as M. de Bougainville. They supplied abundance of provisions, and willingly assisted the working parties from the ships, but availed themselves of every opportunity to pilfer. Sensuality seems to have been practised with still greater indecency than before, and several murders were privately committed by the French sailors, notwithstanding the hospitality with which they were entertained. A woman who had sailed from France with the crew, disguised in man's apparel, was detected by the natives upon her landing. Accustomed to see the sexes clothed alike, they immediately perceived the difference of her shape; but they conceived mean ideas of European beauty from her countenance.

The French vessels sailed 14th April, after the loss of several anchors, their cables having been cut asunder by the coral rock. Within a few weeks afterwards M. de Bougainville found that several people on board, and Outōoroo himself, were infected with the venereal disease. Captain Wallis seems to have been peculiarly attentive to the state of his ship's company, and positively asserts that they were entirely free from every symptom of this disorder six months before, and still longer after their visit at Otaheite. The accounts of the islanders respecting their previous knowledge of the complaint, are confused and contradictory. The present existence, and the general prevalence of the evil, are but too obvious; and it concurs with other dreadful effects of sensuality, to threaten the entire depopulation of this beautiful island, if it be not seasonably averted by the happy influence of the gospel.

Subsequent to M. de Bougainville's departure, a revolution occurred in the government of Otaheite, the effects of which proved to be permanent and important. The whole island at that time acknowledged the sovereignty of Temārre. The smaller peninsula, called Teiarrabōo, was governed by an elderly man named Waheadōoa, distantly related to the king. The larger peninsula has usually been distributed into three principal governments, each of which included several subordinate districts: they were then subject to three brothers, Oammo,



Tootahā, and Hāppae; the latter presiding over the northern and eastern districts, which are collectively named Tepirreonōo. Tootahā, who possessed considerable talents, and was actuated by a restless ambition, conspired with Waheadōoa to wrest the government of the island from Oammo and Oberea; and to transfer the royal dignity from their son to Otōo, the son of Hāppae, during whose minority the conduct of public affairs was to be committed to Tootahā. This plot could not elude the penetration of Toopāea; and he used all his interest with Oberea to frustrate it in time, by putting Tootaha to death. He did not, however, prevail with her to consent to so violent a measure; and when he found the explosion ready to burst, he fled to the interior mountains for his personal safety. Waheadōoa, stimulated by the desire of becoming wholly independent of the larger peninsula, passed the isthmus with his army, and defeated that which Oammo had collected to oppose him. Tootaha, at the same time, with the forces of Attahōoroo and Tettahā, attacked from the westward the district of Papparā, Oammo's residence; and carried off, from the great morae at that place to another in Attahōoroo, the peculiar ensigns of the regal and sacerdotal offices. The grand ceremonies which are attended with human sacrifices, were therefore performed at the morae of Attahōoroo for many years after that event. This district being one of the largest and most fertile in the island, and constantly gaining strength by affording protection to fugitives from other quarters, was too powerful to be speedily dispossessed of its acquisitions. Tootaha had established himself in the regency, and resided at Opārre, the hereditary district of the new sovereign Otōo, when Lieutenant Cook, in the Endeavour, anchored in the adjacent bay of Mattavae, 12th April, 1769. His objects were to observe the approaching transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun, and to renew the search which Quiros had set on foot in the last century, for a continent supposed to exist in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean.

The Endeavour was immediately visited by crowds of the natives, among whom Ow hau was recognised by Mr. Gore and others who had



ailed with Wallis. His assistance was again found useful in the traffic which commenced, under proper regulations, with his countrymen; and in appeasing their resentment, when it was excited by the death of one of them, too hastily inflicted in consequence of their thefts. A small fort was erected near the northernmost point of the island, which now received the name of Point Venus, on account of the observations that were made upon that planet the 3d of June. At the same time a party was sent to the neighbouring island of Eimëo, to observe the transit from thence. Lieutenant Cook afterwards made a survey of Otaheite, in which he was accompanied by Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Banks, who had sailed in the Endeavour with a view to the advancement of natural history. They met with Waheadoo and his son, then about thirteen years of age, at Teiarraboo, and found that peninsula in a flourishing condition. Its inhabitants boasted of their military prowess and success; of which they possessed many trophies, and among others, the turkey-cock and the goose which Captain Wallis had given to Oberea. The English were every where hospitably treated, excepting the depredations which they suffered from the thievish genius of the natives. The same lewdness was perpetrated as on former occasions; and, to avoid loathsome repetitions, we shall generally omit to mention it in future. These practices at times interrupted the harmony which usually subsisted between the navigators and the islanders; but it was almost wholly destroyed previous to their separation. Two marines having deserted from the ship, Cook ventured to confine Tootaha and several other principal persons till the deserters should be brought back. The natives by way of retaliation seized upon some Englishmen; but being ordered by Tootaha to surrender them and the deserters to the commander, he in return released his royal captives, and their friendship was apparently renewed. Among the principal acquaintance formed by the English in this voyage, beside those already mentioned, were Potâtto, a chief of Attahooroo, and Tooboorâc Tamâede of Mattavac; both of whom were detected in thefts, although among the most respectable persons

in the island. Toopāea, having lost his influence by the revolution, and being deserted by Oberea for a younger gallant, left Otaheite in the Endeavour, 12th July, and died at Batavia, on the passage of the ship to Europe.

Tootaha had obtained a great quantity of curious and useful articles from his European guests, and he availed himself of these acquisitions to increase his influence over the chiefs of the larger peninsula. He succeeded in persuading them to unite their forces against Teiarraboo, which he wished to reduce to its former state of subjection. Waheadooa, who sought only to enjoy peaceably the independence he had established, pleaded the services he had rendered to Tootaha, as an argument to divert him from his hostile designs, which Waheadooa had learned, and was prepared to resist. The military pride and ambition of the regent urged him to persist in his attempt; and, having equipped a fleet of war canoes, he sailed toward the smaller peninsula, and engaged the naval force of Waheadooa, with nearly equal loss on each side. Tootaha retired, with a determination to try his success by land. His brother Hāppae disapproved of this measure, and remained at Oparre; but Tootaha obliged Otoo, who always disliked fighting, to accompany the army. It engaged that of Waheadooa at the isthmus, and was totally routed: Tootaha and Tooboorae Tamaede were killed on the spot; Orette and many others severely wounded; and Otoo escaped with a few of his friends, to the summits of the mountains, where his father and family had taken refuge upon being informed of the defeat. Waheadooa marched directly to Mattayae and Oparre, laying waste all the country, as is usual in their wars; but he sent reasonable proposals of peace to Hāppae and Otoo, who readily accepted them. The latter, having then arrived at maturity, assumed the administration of the government, with the assistance of his father's advice. He had two sisters, one of whom remained unmarried, and being older than he, might have put in a prior claim to the sovereignty, but she waved her right in his favour. Of three brothers, the eldest was ten years younger than Otoo; he was then a very

active and intelligent boy, and has since become well known under the name of Orapēia: the next brother, Weidōoa, was six years younger than he: the youngest, Teppahōo, then an infant, has ever since remained in obscurity, on account of his deficiency of intellect.

Waheadōoa did not long survive his triumphs; and his name and government devolved without opposition upon his son. A Spanish vessel, said to have been commanded by Don Juan de Langara, visited Teiarraboo about March 1773. She remained ten days at anchor in a harbour formed by reefs, at the south-east end of the island, and called by the natives Owhac-oorōoa. Four of the ship's company were publicly executed there; and a fifth escaped the same fate by flight. He was the first European who became a resident at Otaheite, and was kindly treated by the natives, to whose manners he entirely conformed. Young Waheadōoa made him one of his principal companions and counsellors.

Captain Cook visited this island the following August, in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Captain Furneaux in the *Adventure*. These vessels were in much danger near the place where the Spaniards had anchored, the *Resolution* striking repeatedly on the adjacent reef. On the 17th of August they anchored in a bay on the northern coast of Teiarraboo, called Oweitapēha. The English were disappointed of obtaining provisions, as was said, by the influence of the young chief's Spanish adviser, who carefully avoided intercourse with them. They gained intelligence from an islander named Tooahōu, who had attended Cook in part of his survey during the former visit. The map of Otaheite, which had then been engraved, being shewn to this man, he readily comprehended it, and pointed out by name the districts that were marked upon it. It may be proper here to observe, that the number and the names of these divisions vary at different periods; a district being sometimes subdivided into several by the chiefs, in order to distribute the land among their friends.

Waheadōoa did not visit his acquaintance, Captain Cook, till the 23d, and the latter sailed the following day from Oweitapha; but

left behind Lieutenant Pickersgill to purchase hogs, which the natives were permitted to bring when almost too late. The young chief discovered some ingenuity mingled with boyish weakness, and presided at the market with great propriety. Mr. Pickersgill proceeded from thence in a boat to Hedēa, where he was kindly entertained by Orette, and his brother Tarōore. Neither of them made any inquiry after Outōoroo, although they supposed him to have gone with M. de Bougainville to the same country from whence Cook came. Toopāea also seemed to be nearly forgotten; but Sir Joseph Banks, and others of the English, who had been most conversant with the islanders, were every where inquired after. The boat rejoined the ships at Hedea, and they proceeded to Mattavae, where they anchored 25th August.

Otoo, who was on the shore surrounded by a multitude gazing at the ships, did not wait to receive the English, but hurried in terror over the hill which divides Mattavae from Opārre, where he resided. Cook visited him there the next day, and with difficulty prevailed upon him to venture on board the ships on the following. These districts had not recovered from the effects of the war with Teiarraboo, and provisions were scarce. Potatoo in some measure supplied the deficiency from Attahooroo. Otoo expressed much regret at the departure of the vessels, which occurred 1st September.

Captain Cook revisited Mattavae 22d April 1774, having in the mean time repeatedly entered the antarctic circle in the fruitless search after a southern continent, which was the principal object of this voyage. On his last departure from Otaheite, he had been accompanied from the Society Islands, by a young man of rank and some abilities, named Hēte-hēte. By his advice, red feathers had been procured at the Friendly Islands; and they were found to be the most valuable article of trade at Otaheite. The northern districts had also recovered their usual prosperity since the former visit of the Resolution, and at this time supplied abundantly the wants of the navigators. They found much relief from bilious complaints by the use of the evē fruit, which, from its external appearance, has been always called an

apple, although it has a stone resembling that of a peach. During the stay of Captain Cook, which was prolonged in order to repair his ship, a fleet of large war canoes assembled in the bay, for the purpose of attacking the neighbouring island of Kimēo. The chief of that country, Motooāro, had married a sister of Otoo, and being expelled by his uncle Mahēine, he had taken refuge with his brother-in-law. The western districts having united with those of Tepirreonoo to maintain the cause of Motooaro, Towhā, who was then chief of Tettahā, was appointed to the command of the combined fleet. He possessed great courage and talents, was advanced in years, and was highly respected. His district furnished forty-four large canoes toward the fleet; that of Attahooroo one hundred and sixty; and Mattavae, probably in consequence of its late devastation, only ten. Teiarraboo also was expected to send a quota for this expedition; yet both Otoo and Towha, although jealous of each other, entreated Cook to assist them in attacking that peninsula. The number of small canoes employed to transport provisions, and designed to bring back the bodies of those who might be killed, equalled that of the larger canoes employed in fighting. From the multitude of people embarked in this fleet, Captain Cook computed that the whole island might contain more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. Subsequent navigators have even exceeded this calculation; but it appears that at present there is not a tenth part of that number of people in Otaheite. Unlimited sensuality, with the general contamination, and infant murders, attendant upon it, have, without doubt, dreadfully diminished the population.

Amidst the confusion occasioned by so great a concourse of the natives, some daring thefts were committed; and the severity which was consequently exercised, alarmed the timidity of Otoo. One of his elder relations, named Te, became useful as a messenger and mediator between the young king and his formidable guests. Oamino and Oberoa visited them from Papparā; and the latter, though greatly declined in dignity, and advancing in years, discovered no abatement of lewdness. The islanders exhibited a mock sea-fight, and the English

some fireworks, for their mutual entertainment; and they parted very amicably on the 14th of May. Hēte-hēte, who had connected himself with a family at Mattavae, took a passage in the ship to see his friends at Ulietēa. Of various animals which had been left at Otaheite by the Resolution nine months before, the only species likely to multiply were goats and cats. The expedition to Eimēo proved successful in restoring Motooaro to a temporary possession of the sovereignty of that island.

Teiarraboo was shortly after revisited by the Spaniards, in two ships from Lima, which anchored in Oweitapēha bay. The commander died there, and was buried on shore, near a cross which they had erected, and inscribed with, "*Christus vincit*," and "*Carolus 8. imperat. 1774.*" They also constructed, of materials which they had brought for the purpose from Peru, a wooden house, consisting of two apartments, with loop-holes in the walls, which admitted air, and might be used for defence with musquetry. Two priests, with an attendant upon each, remained at this habitation when the ships departed, and were peacefully and respectfully treated by the natives; but it does not appear that they had much conversation with them. One of their attendants, however, frequently travelled in the island, and became familiar with the language of the inhabitants. He told them many slanderous stories of the English, and assured them that his countrymen had fallen in with Cook's vessel and destroyed it, with the whole crew.

Four of the islanders had sailed in the Spanish ships to Lima, and two of them died there. The survivors were brought back by the same vessels ten months afterward, and the priests and their attendants were taken away. A bull and a ram, with some goats, dogs, and Spanish swine, were landed; and the house and cross were left standing, and carefully preserved by the natives. Those who had visited Peru returned wholly to their former course of life: one of them retained some common Spanish phrases; the other had the appearance of being deranged in mind.

Captain Cook once more revisited Otaheite in the Resolution, accompanied by Captain Clerke in the Discovery, on their way to the north-west coast of America, in 1777. They anchored at Oweitapēha on the 13th of August, and found Teiarraboo at that time subject to a boy twelve years old, brother to the former Waheadooa, who had died almost two years before.

When the Resolution and Adventure left Otaheite in 1773, a native of the neighbouring island Huahēine, named Omāe, had accompanied Captain Furneaux from the latter place, and proceeded to England in the Adventure, after parting with the Resolution. He returned from thence with Captain Cook on his third voyage. This young man was not of the higher rank among his countrymen, nor were his talents of a superior cast. In England great attention was paid to him by some of the nobility, but it was chiefly directed to his amusement, and tended rather to augment than to diminish his habitual profligacy. One friend of human kind, Mr. Granville Sharp, took great pains to instruct him in reading and writing, and to impress his mind with ideas of morality and religion. Omāe was susceptible of conviction by familiar arguments on the latter subjects, and had made such progress by application to the former, that he wrote from the Cape of Good Hope a letter to Dr. Solander (who had accompanied Sir Joseph Banks in 1769) in Otaheitean words expressed by English characters. Having visited the Friendly islands previously to his arrival at Otaheite, he had procured a garment richly adorned with red and yellow feathers, which he designed to present to Otoo. This<sup>\*</sup> he delivered to young Waheadooa, requesting him to transmit it to Otoo, in the hope of ingratiating himself at once with both of the sovereigns in the island where he intended to settle. The prize was, however, too valuable to pass through the hands of the young chief, who deemed a very small part of the feathers sufficient to be sent to the monarch of the larger peninsula.

The ships proceeded to Mattavac, and anchored there on the 24th of August: a friendly interview immediately took place with Otoo and

his family, which remained in the same state as formerly. Captain Cook delivered into his charge an English bull, three cows, a horse, a mare, and some sheep, which had been conveyed from England with very great trouble, in the hope of rendering essential service to these hospitable islanders. The Spanish bull had been transported from Teiarraboo to Mattavae on the way to Bolabola: the sovereign of that island having sent an emissary, who pretended to inspiration, to procure the bull from Waheadooa. Captain Cook arriving in time to stop its progress, committed this animal also, which was of a capital breed, to the custody of Otoo. Various domestic fowls were likewise left with him, and garden-seeds planted in some ground cleared for the purpose. Otoo had besides in his possession the gander that had been given ten years before by Captain Wallis to Oberoa. This lady had died since the former visits of the Resolution. The body of Te, the king's uncle, and minister of state, who had then been dead four months, was still preserved from putrefaction. Hēte-hēte had arrived at Mattavae but a short time before his English friends, to whom he shewed an unabated attachment; but he declined the use of some clothing which they had brought out as a present to him. Omāe having acted as imprudently in the disposal of his property at this place as at Teiarraboo, the design of establishing him at Otaheite was relinquished.

Intelligence being received from Eimeo, that Mahēine had again revolted from Motooaro, and had obliged him to take refuge in the mountains, Otoo earnestly entreated Captain Cook to take an active part in the quarrel, but he prudently declined to interfere. Human sacrifices were offered at Attahooroo to insure success to the expedition, and Towha and Potatto again conducted the fleet belonging to their districts to attack Maheine. They found him, however, so well prepared to receive them, that, after repeatedly applying to Otoo for reinforcements, without procuring any, they concluded a peace on terms which were advantageous to the revolters. There had been a great diversity of sentiment among the chiefs on the subject of this expedition, and the blame of its unfavourable issue was imputed by



some to the hastiness of Towha, and by others to Otoo's delay in augmenting the fleet. The jealousy which had always subsisted between these great men was excited to such a degree, that Towha vowed revenge against Otoo, and was only prevented from executing it by the menaces of Captain Cook. The latter quitted Mattavæ on the 29th of September 1777, and for the first time visited Eimeo. Some thefts which the natives of that island committed, were punished by him with unprecedented severity. He returned no more, being killed at the Sandwich Islands on the 14th of February 1779.

Previous to that event Otoo espoused Iddæa, the elder sister of Motooaro, with whom he thus became doubly connected by marriage. The first child she bore to him was immediately suffocated, that they might preserve their rank in the *arrec* society; but a second being born was preserved, and in consequence the title and sovereign dignity of Otoo immediately devolved upon his infant son. The father retained his former power as regent, and in the conduct of it he was greatly assisted by his intelligent and active consort. He has since been called by various names successively; but, to avoid confusion, we shall only use that of Pomârre, by which he has been known during the last six years.

Towha seems to have suppressed his resentment till the usual length of time between Captain Cook's visits at Otaheite had elapsed; he then united the forces of Tettaha and Attahooroo with Maheine against those of Oparre and the eastern districts. The contest was frequently renewed, and usually terminated to the advantage of Towha. Pomârre's war canoes being nearly destroyed, his adversaries pursued their success by land, and laid waste Oparre and Mattavæ. They at length suffered a severe check by the death of Maheine, who was killed in battle by the hand of Weidōoa, Pomârre's younger brother. This catastrophe appears to have prevented the renewal of hostilities at Otaheite; but the party of Motooaro was not powerful enough to establish him as the successor of Maheine, whose adopted son, Tareamoodōa, obtained at his death the sovereignty of Eimeo. During these incur-

sions most of the cattle that had been left at Oparre, and had increased there, were destroyed; several cows and a disabled bull, were carried in triumph to Eimeo, and preserved there.

Eleven years had nearly passed without any intercourse between Europe and Otaheite; every instrument of iron had been expended; and the loathsome disease, which, if not derived from Europeans, had certainly been increased by their licentious conduct, had made dreadful havock among the islanders of both sexes. At that late period an English vessel arrived at Otaheite, seemingly with as little of design on the one part, as of expectation on the other. A ship called the *Lady Penrhyn*, on board of which was Lieutenant Watts, who had sailed with Cook, was employed in transporting convicts to Port Jackson, at the first formation of the settlement in New South Wales. Being bound from thence to China for a cargo homeward, she took a course far to the eastward; and as the crew was extremely reduced by scurvy, it was determined to stop at Otaheite for refreshments. Upon anchoring at Mattavac on the 10th of July 1788, Lieutenant Watts was immediately recognised by Moāna, an elderly chief of that district. Pomāre, who no longer resided in that neighbourhood, arrived four days afterward, probably from Teiarraboo, bringing with him a portrait of Captain Cook, which Mr. Webber had painted at his request during the last voyage. Veracity having been thought needless by Europeans in their transactions with the islanders, it was judged proper at that time to conceal the death of Captain Cook, and to make presents in his name to Pomāre. This idle deception proved afterward highly detrimental.

Iron utensils were sought by the islanders with the utmost avidity; while some red feathers, which had been brought from Port Jackson, bore no price with them. The ring of an anchor, which M. de Bougainville had lost ten years before at Hedēa, was produced by Pomāre, who requested to have it forged into small adzes. The utmost abundance of animal and vegetable food was supplied in exchange for European articles; and besides the original productions of the island,

pumpkins and capsicums, cats and goats, were offered for sale. It was observed, that the women of the higher class were more cautious than formerly of promiscuous intercourse, probably in consequence of what they had suffered from disease. Pomarre was importunate with Mr. Watts to assist him in punishing and subduing the people of Eimeo. He complained greatly of the long absence of the English, and of the shortness of their present stay, which was only for a fortnight. Hête-hête, who was at Mattavae, begged to be taken to Ulietêa; but Pomarre being unwilling to part with him, he was obliged to remain.

An event approached which issued in an important change of the condition of Otaheite. The information which had been received by the former voyages of the great utility of the bread-fruit, induced the merchants and planters of the British West Indian islands to request that means might be used to transplant it thither. For this benevolent purpose a ship was commissioned by his Majesty, which was named the *Bounty*; and Lieutenant Bligh, who had sailed as master with Captain Cook, was appointed to conduct her to Otaheite, where the plants might be most easily and abundantly procured. He arrived at Mattavae on the 26th of October 1788, hardly more than three months after Lieutenant Watts's departure. Happac and Orapeia were found there, and the latter was peculiarly anxious to prevent his countrymen from practising their usual thefts. The frame of Captain Cook's picture, which had suffered some damage by its removals, was brought to be mended; and on the 28th Pomarre arrived with Iddea from a district of Teiarraboo, where he had taken up his residence. Weidooa, who had gained great credit by his prowess in battle, but was excessively addicted to the intoxicating liquor of the ava root, and a chief of Mattavae, named Poëno, were generally of the visiting parties. A garden was planted near the houses belonging to the latter and to Moanna. Potatto and Orette, and his kinsmen, renewed their friendship with the English. The young sovereign, who was about six years old, was only to be accosted from the opposite side of the river at Oparre. The English were required to make their shoulders bare when

in his presence ; but they compromised this ceremony by uncovering their heads. He was accompanied by a younger brother and a sister, beside whom Iddea had also a female infant by Pomarre ; yet she cohabited openly at that time with one of his servants, and has done so ever since. Teppahōo, an uncle of Pomarre, had destroyed eight children, in order to preserve his rank as an arcoe. He resided at Tettaha as chief of that district, Towha being dead. The wife of the latter, Wanno-ōora survived him, and was much respected.

Lieutenant Bligh having made very handsome presents from the king of Great-Britain to Pomarre, informed him that the most acceptable return would be a large quantity of the young bread-fruit plants, and that he would oblige him by carrying them in his cabin for King George ; which was immediately consented to. Pomarre expressed little concern about the loss of the cattle, but much desire to be revenged upon the people of Eimeo : and he was gratified with two muskets, a pair of pistols, and a considerable stock of ammunition. He had not sufficient fortitude to use these articles himself : but Hete-hete, who remained with him, was a good marksman ; and although it is not customary for the females of Otaheite to go to battle, Iddea, whose personal strength and courage were unusually great, had learned to use a musket with some dexterity.

Oberreroa, the mother of Pomarre, came from the small islands of Tethurōa, and visited the *Bounty* with difficulty, being old and corpulent. She seems to have been a native of Ulietea, from whence some of her relations, who were chiefs in that island, came to Mattavac at this time. One of them brought an ewe, which Captain Cook had left at Ulietea, and which was then almost destroyed by the mange. Another, who was at that time called Tootahā, seems to be the same person since known by the name of Manne-māne, the brother of Oberreroa, and heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ulietea and Otahā, but by office a priest. Beside the sheep, which shortly died, a bull was procured from Hedeā, and a cow from Tettaha ; and both were committed to

the charge of Pomarre, from whom the former had been obtained by a person pretending to be inspired.

On Christmas-day the *Bounty* was removed to a reef harbour on the coast of Oparre, the bay of Mattavae having become dangerous through the variable and violent winds which are common at that season. Nearly eight hundred pots of bread-fruit plants were then taken on board, and upwards of one thousand plants were afterward added, together with some of the evē, ehēya, rātta, orāya, tou, and mātte trees; and the te, yāppe, and pēa roots. The length of time employed in collecting these, was attended with the desertion of several among the seamen, who were pursued to Tethuroa by Orapcia, and at length were seized at Tettaha. The ship's cable was cut nearly through, evidently with the design of letting the ship drive on shore in tempestuous weather. This is said to have been done by Weidooa, on account of an officer to whom he was attached, and who had been put in confinement on board. The thefts of the inhabitants likewise increased with the delay, but the chiefs exerted themselves to bring them to punishment. Some maize had been planted since the arrival of the *Bounty*, which ripened before she sailed. Captain Cook's picture, which had, by Pomarre's request, been kept on board the ship, was then delivered again to him, with the date of the ship's arrival and departure recorded upon the back of the picture, which has ever since been practised by commanders of English men of war. The *Bounty* was unmoored the 4th of April, 1789, having remained at Otaheite more than five months.

The situation of Pomarre was evidently at that time neither comfortable nor secure. He earnestly desired Captain Bligh to take himself and Iddea to Britain. Hete-hete equally wished to go in the ship. A coolness then subsisted between Pomarre and Orapcia, which was supposed to have arisen from a disagreement of their wives. Shortly after the departure of the ship a revolution took place at Eimeo, by which Motooaro's authority was established. Tareamoodōa took re-

fuge in Attahooroo, and was afterward entertained by Temarre at Paparā, where he remained in a private station.

The Bounty returned to Mattavae on the 6th of June, having in the mean time been seized by twenty-five of the crew, who had mutinied, and turned adrift Lieutenant Bligh, and eighteen officers and seamen, in the launch belonging to the ship. Fletcher Christian, the master's mate, a young man of respectable connexions and good talents, was chosen to command the mutineers. He had persuaded them to go to Toobōuac, a small island ninety leagues to the southward of Otaheite; preferring it to the latter, as being less exposed to visits from Europeans. Having found Toobouac destitute of animal provisions, he brought the ship again to Otaheite, to procure some stock for the settlement which he intended to make. He availed himself, for this purpose, of the fiction which had been hitherto supported respecting Captain Cook; asserting that they had met with him, and that he had sent the ship back for all the live stock that could be spared, in order to form a settlement at a place which Captain Bligh had discovered in his course toward the Friendly Islands. The inhabitants gave credit to his story, and vied with each other *who* should furnish most for the service of Captain Cook; so that by the 16th of June, four hundred and sixty hogs, fifty goats, and great quantities of fowls, dogs, and cats were collected. The bull and cow, which had been committed to the charge of Pomarre by Captain Bligh, were also taken away; but the former died on the passage, from the falls he received. Eleven female Otaheiteans sailed with the mutineers; and it was soon found that thirteen male natives, among whom was Hete-hete, had concealed themselves in the ship. When informed of the real destination of the vessel, and of the great improbability there was that they would ever return to their own country, they discovered no dissatisfaction; but adhered cheerfully and faithfully to the mutineers during their fruitless attempts to establish themselves at Toobouac.

Subsequent to the second departure of the Bounty from Otaheite,

a Swedish armed vessel, commanded by J. H. Cox, arrived there. Captain Cox was received by Pomarre and Iddca with their usual hospitality; and in return made them presents, among which were some more fire-arms and ammunition, a hand-saw, and an union jack. The latter became a substitute for Captain Wallis's pendant, as the ensign of royalty. A shrewd and active fellow, named Brown, a native of England or North America, was left by Captain Cox upon the island, in consequence of a quarrel between him and his shipmates, in which he had maimed one of them. This man attached himself to Pomarre, with whom he went to reside at a district of Teiarraboo, where the latter had some private property. He had taken up his abode there, apparently with a view to increase his political influence, in hope that the smaller peninsula might at length be brought under the dominion of his son.

A majority of the mutineers having determined, contrary to Fletcher Christian's inclination, upon returning from Toobouac to Otaheite, the *Bounty* was anchored a third time at Mattavae, on the 22d of September 1789. Sixteen of the ship's company then landed, with their proportion of the property and arms that were on board. The rest failed suddenly in the night with Christian, and have never since been heard of. Thirty-five of the islanders, including men, women, and children, accompanied them. His professed design was to settle in some uninhabited island, out of the usual tracks of European ships. Among the people who remained at Otaheite, were several who had not been active in the mutiny; and some who had wished to accompany Captain Bligh in the boat, but were detained by the rest, as they could not conveniently be spared. They were hospitably received by their old friends at Mattavae and Oparre, and lands were assigned for their use in these districts, which they preferred to others where they were less acquainted.

The more ingenious and industrious among them employed themselves in the construction of a schooner, about the size of the passage-boats between London and Gravesend. It was difficult to find, and

to convey from the mountains, timber suited to their purpose ; and still more so, to substitute such articles as were to be obtained in the country, for the necessary iron-work, pitch, and rigging. The natives, although they pilfered other things, never stole their tools, but assisted them occasionally in the laborious parts of their work ; and were less surprised at their skill, than at their perseverance in such an undertaking. It was hardly to be expected, that the whole of the party who had engaged in it, would adhere to each other till it was completed. One of them, named Churchill, who had been master at arms in the ship, and was very active in the mutiny, accepted an invitation to live with Waheadooa, who was sovereign of Teiarraboo at the time that Cook last visited that peninsula. Another, named Thompson, one of the most ignorant and brutal of the crew, accompanied him ; but they very shortly disagreed. Waheadooa died soon afterward, without children ; and Churchill, having been his tayo, succeeded to his property and dignity, according to the established custom of the country. Thompson was excited by envy of Churchill's preferment, and by revenge for some tricks he had played him, to take an opportunity of shooting him. The natives rose to punish the murder of their new sovereign, and stoned Thompson to death. A boy of four years old, who was nephew of the late Waheadooa, and son of the chief of Weioorōo, was acknowledged as the successor of his uncle, whose name devolved upon him, as it had before done upon Churchill.

Pomarre was anxious that the rest of the English should remain unconnected with Teiarraboo ; but consented that some of them should take up their residence at Pappara with Temarre, who continued to be on terms of friendship with him. They had all been constantly and plentifully supplied with provisions by Pomarre's orders, and he at length requested in return their assistance to attack Eimeo, where another insurrection was formed against Motooaro. They declined to go thither, but cleaned for him the arms which Captain Bligh and Captain Cox had given him. Hete-hete, who remained at Otaheite when the Bounty failed, and a few other natives who had learned to



use them, easily turned the scale of victory against the insurgents, and confirmed Motooaro in the peaceable possession of his rights.

A few months afterwards the western districts of Attahooroo and Tettaha (where Teppahoo had died, and his successor Tetōwha was inimical to Otoo) invaded both Oparre and Pappara, through jealousy of the growing power of the royal family. On this occasion the mutineers thought it necessary, for their own safety, to arm on the side of their friends. Their schooner having at length been launched, rigged, and provided with every thing necessary, they sailed with a fleet of war canoes from the north-eastern districts against Attahooroo; which was likewise attacked from the quarter of Pappara by Temarre and the English people residing with him. Potatto, Tetowha, and their adherents, took refuge in the mountains, and in a short time obtained peace by submitting to Otoo's authority. They also surrendered to him the royal maro, which was carried in triumph to the morae at Oparre, after having remained at Attahooroo twenty-one years. Tetowha, who was a young man of remarkable comeliness, died soon afterwards, and an uncle of Pomarre's was appointed in his stead. Potatto, through the intercession of the English, was allowed to retain his authority in Attahooroo. After paying a visit to Motooaro, with whom some of them resided from that time, they laid up the schooner at Mattavae during the tempestuous season, which usually prevails between November and March.

Early in 1791 the ceremony took place of investing Otoo with the royal garment, on which occasion Captain Cox's flag was sent entirely round the island in token of the young chief's supremacy. It was admitted to pass through Ticarraboo, from fear of Pomarre's English allies, rather than from willingness to submit to him. He therefore proposed to them to assist his own and Temarre's people, in compelling the inhabitants of that peninsula to absolute submission. The chief part of the mutineers having agreed to the proposal, they again launched and provided their schooner, sailed from Mattavae 21st March, leaving only four of their number there, and reached Pappara

on the 24th. In the mean time the Pandora frigate, commanded by Captain Edwards, which had been sent from England, on hearing of the mutiny in the Bounty, arrived at Otaheite, and anchored at Mat-tavae on the 23d. The Englishmen who had remained there, went on board the same day, and were immediately put into confinement. Lieutenants Corner and Hayward, the latter of whom had sailed in the Bounty, and accompanied Captain Bligh in the launch, were dispatched with two of the Pandora's boats, to pursue the schooner. The mutineers had hardly anchored at Pappara, when a messenger, whom Hete-hete had sent by land, informed them of what had befallen their comrades; upon which they immediately sailed again, with three others who lived at Pappara, leaving behind only one of their party, and Brown whom they had met there. The former walked all night toward Mattavae, and surrendered himself on board the ship the next day; when also the boats returned thither, not having been able to overtake the schooner, which had steered for the south-easternmost point of the island. She, however, returned to Pappara on the 27th, and six of the mutineers went up to the hills within the country; the other three were kept in confinement that night and the next day by the orders of Temarre, who likewise seized the schooner. In the night of the 28th they escaped, by Brown's assistance, to the western coast, and reached, by daybreak, a boat with which Lieutenant Corner had come from the ship the preceding day in pursuit of them. He left them, with the boat, in the charge of a petty officer, and ascended the heights, guided by Orapcia, to discover the retreat of the rest. Lieutenant Hayward having proceeded by water to Pappara, and searched for them in vain, was informed the next forenoon, that they were coming down to surrender themselves, which they did, laying down their arms as they approached his party; and Mr. Hayward sent information to Lieutenant Corner, who was descending after them into the valley.

During the whole time of the mutineers' continuance at Otaheite, Pomarre had remained at Teiarraboo, but upon the arrival of the

Pandora, he repaired with his family to Oparre. He had then, in addition to Iddea, taken to wife her younger sister, Weirède; but was still equally influenced by the advice of the former. He readily co-operated with the British officers in their measures for securing the mutineers, and was anxious to prevent bad consequences from the resentment of families with which they had formed connexions. Few of these appear to have been highly respectable; but one instance occurred of a very affecting nature. A midshipman, who had been active in the mutiny, had lived with the daughter of a person of property at Mattavac, and she had borne a child to him. His imprisonment and removal afflicted her to such a degree as to bring on a decline that terminated in her death. Her infant was left to the care of a sister, who cherished it with the utmost tenderness. Three daughters and a son were left by others of the mutineers.

Notwithstanding the mournful interviews that daily took place on board, between the Englishmen, who were kept in irons, and the native women with whom they had lived, the usual course of festivity, amusements, and debaucheries, was uninterrupted during the continuance of the ship at Otaheite. She sailed on the 8th of May, accompanied by the schooner which the mutineers had built, under the command of a petty officer from the Pandora. Brown, who had never been on friendly terms with the mutineers, came away in the ship; and Hete-hete went in her to Bolabola, his native island. Pomarre and his wives were also still desirous of quitting the island, but their departure was strongly opposed by Orapcia and other chiefs, whose persuasions prevailed.

Of the fourteen people who were seized at Otaheite, and taken away in the Pandora, four were drowned when the ship was cast away on her return; the rest were preserved in boats, and brought to trial in England. Four of them were acquitted, as having had no concern in the mutiny; and were mostly provided for in Greenwich Hospital. Another was discharged, his conviction not having been legally conducted. Two were pardoned, and have since been em-

ployed in the navy. The remaining three were executed at Spit-head.

At the close of the same year Captain Vancouver, in a ship named the Discovery, and Lieutenant Broughton, in the Chatham brig, arrived at Otaheite. The vessels having been separated on their passage, the Chatham first reached that island, which was appointed for their rendezvous. She anchored at Mattavac on the 27th of December 1791, and the Discovery joined her three days later. Pomarre was then at Eimeo, but returned the following week with Motooaro, who was much reduced in health, and died a fortnight afterward. Another chief of the same name, who was sovereign of Huaheine, but acknowledged the supremacy of Otoo, was at Mattavac when the ships arrived, and remained there while they staid. Mannemanne, then named Mourē, although he had succeeded Opōne in the sovereignty of Ulictea and Otaha, resided chiefly at Otaheite. The expedition which had been meditated against Ticarraboo had been carried into effect, and the younger brother of Otoo had been appointed chief of that peninsula. Orapeia resided there as regent for his nephew, and Weidooa at Oparre. Pomarre had fixed his abode at Eimeo, and the inhabitants of that island became reconciled and attached to his government, as regent for the daughter of the deceased Motooaro. Potatto remained likewise in amity and subjection. Happae was still capable of activity, and was then treated with reverence by his three sons, who were also cordially attached to each other. They all behaved with their usual hospitality toward the English; but they could not dissuade Pomarre from the most immoderate use of spirituous liquors, till his sufferings convinced him of the necessity of temperance. Some thefts, which were evidently encouraged by the chiefs, interrupted the friendship that had prevailed; and prevented the repetition of a display of fireworks, with which they had been greatly delighted. The vessels sailed on the 24th of January 1792.

Shortly afterward a private ship, named the Matilda, Captain Weatherhead, touched at Otaheite for refreshments, having sailed

from Port Jackson upon the southern whale fishery. After a fortnight's stay they departed, and on the 25th of February, the ship was wrecked upon an extensive reef in 22 south latitude, 138  $\frac{1}{2}$  west longitude. The captain and crew escaped in their boats to Otaheite; but upon landing again at that island, the inhabitants plundered them of the articles they had saved from the wreck. This event became an occasion of contention among the islanders, and a part of the country was in consequence laid waste by Pomarre. The ship's company were, in other respects, well treated. A small vessel called the Prince William Henry, touching at Otaheite on the 26th of March, stayed only three days. Some of the Matilda's people embarked in her, and proceeded to the north-west coast of America.

Captain Bligh having been again sent out, to accomplish the purposes of his former voyage which had been frustrated by the mutiny, arrived at Otaheite on the 7th of April 1792, in a ship named the Providence, attended by a small vessel called the Assistance, commanded by Lieutenant Portlock. Pomarre resided at Oparre whilst the vessels remained. Peace was restored between the contending districts by Captain Bligh's interference, and human sacrifices were offered on the occasion. A second collection of bread-fruit plants, &c. was made, with which he sailed after a stay of three months. Hetehe, and one of Pomarre's domestics, accompanied him to the West-Indies, where the former remained to take care of the plants; the other came to England, but did not long survive his arrival. Several of the Matilda's people who chose to continue upon the island, attached themselves to different families, and lived in indolence and plenty.

The Dædalus storeship, Captain New, had followed Captain Vancouver from England to Nootka Sound, and was dispatched from thence, with Lieutenant Hanson on board, to Port Jackson. In her way thither she stopped a fortnight at Otaheite, in February 1793. The ship's company were treated with the utmost friendship; and two of the crew deserted, in order to settle among the natives. One of them was recovered by the contrivance of Orapeia, who advised the

captain to detain him on board till the man should be sent back ; and having acted his part so well as to accomplish the purpose, he then diverted himself at the expense of his friends. The other deserter, who was a Swede, was suffered to remain at Otaheite, where he was found by Captain Wilson. Only one of the Matilda's crew chose to depart with the Dædalus.

No information respecting this island having transpired between the voyages of the Dædalus and the Duff, we refer to the narrative of the latter for the intervening occurrences. Two private ships, named the Jenny and the Britannia, were at different periods at Otaheite, but neither the events nor the dates of their visits are accurately known. It is reported that several of the Matilda's crew left the island in one of these vessels ; and that some of them ventured across the Pacific Ocean in their boats, one of which is understood to have reached Timor.

The numerous detached accounts, from which the preceding narrative has been with difficulty compiled, cannot but excite painful sensations in a serious mind. While, in some respects, the prudence and humanity of our navigators are conspicuous, how much is it to be lamented, that, in various important views, they appear to have derived from the knowledge of christianity no advantage over the heathen world ! More damage than benefit certainly has resulted from their intercourse. The manners of the natives had become more depraved by means of the frequent visits which occurred during the first ten years : and they had, in some degree, evidently ameliorated during an equal space of time, in which the island was wholly deserted by Europeans. For ten years past, nominal Christians have almost constantly resided there ; and the result appears from the state in which the inhabitants were found by Captain Wilson. It is consolatory to close this historical view of Otaheite with the arrival and settlement of several real Christians in that island, who have devoted their lives to the purposes of instructing the natives by their doctrine and example in the purity of the gospel ; and of imparting to them the most essential benefits of civilization, without the vices too often attendant upon it.

*Islands connected with Otaheite.*

MOST of the islands which maintain an intercourse with Otaheite, have been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding narrative. That which more immediately depends upon it, is

TETHURŌA, consisting of several small low islets, enclosed in a reef about ten leagues in circuit; and situated a little to the westward of north from Point Venus, at the distance of eight leagues. It is the property of the sovereign of Otaheite, who allows no bread-fruit to be planted upon these spots; that the people who inhabit them, may be obliged to bring the fish which abound there, to Oparre, to be exchanged for bread-fruit. The reef is inaccessible to large canoes, and Pomarre has therefore made use of this place as a magazine for his most valuable articles of property, not being exposed to the depredations of a hostile fleet. The islets also abound with cocoa-nuts, which flourish most upon the lowest places. They are resorted to by the wandering society of the arreoës, especially the women, and by the effeminate class, with the purpose of increasing the delicacy of their appearance. The passage is often difficult and dangerous. The stated inhabitants have been represented as few; but the occasional concourse of people is such, that in the most variable and tempestuous season of the year, one hundred canoes have been seen together upon this spot.

The only island, beside Tethuroa, that is in absolute subjection to Otaheite is MAITEA, which belongs to the chief of Teiarraboo. It is situated to the east of that peninsula, at the distance of more than twenty leagues; and being, though small, very lofty, is always observed by persons who approach Otaheite from the eastward. It is not above three miles in circuit, and the north side is too steep for habitations; but the southern side descends more gradually, and has a border of low land next the sea. This little island is very populous, but less civilized than Otaheite, from whence it is visited by a large



war canoe during the variable winds, and pearls are procured in exchange for the iron work that can be spared. To the eastward it is enclosed by a coral reef. It is in latitude  $17^{\circ} 33'$ , west longitude  $148^{\circ} 12'$ . It is the only high island adjacent to the eastward of Otaheite, and maintains intercourse with some of the low islands toward the north-east.

The island nearest to Otaheite is that called, by Captain Cook, EIMEO, but more usually named Morëa by the natives. Its distance from the western coast of Otaheite is about four leagues. Its extent has been variously represented, but is probably about ten miles from north to south, and half as much in breadth. It differs from Otaheite in having land-locked harbours in several parts of its coast, and in being intersected by spacious valleys. It has a very narrow border of low land next the sea, from whence the hills rise in sudden acclivities; but from the harbours on the northern shore they ascend gradually, and the lower hills appear to be the most fertile parts. Its history has been interwoven with that of Otaheite, with which it appears to be at present amicably and firmly connected. The natives are strongly addicted to theft; and the females have been thought inferior in beauty to those of any neighbouring island. The harbour of Taloo, on the north coast, which is thought most eligible for vessels, is situated in  $17^{\circ} 30'$  latitude, in  $150^{\circ}$  west longitude. Eimeo was unavoidably seen by every navigator who has visited Otaheite. Captain Wallis named it the Duke of York's island.

The island nearest to the westward from Eimeo is TAPOOAMANOO, which was discovered on the 28th of July 1767 by Captain Wallis, and called by him Sir Charles Saunders's island. It is situated in latitude  $17^{\circ} 28'$ , west longitude  $150^{\circ} 40'$ . Its greatest extent is from east to west, about six miles. Its centre rises in a mountain with a double peak; but the greater part had a fertile appearance, and the lower grounds abounded with cocoa-nut trees. The habitations seemed to be small, and not very numerous. Its government has usually depended upon that of Huahine, from whence it is distant about four-



teen leagues, south by east. It is not known that Europeans ever landed upon it.

**HUAHEINE** (or Ahēine, which signifies 'woman') is the easternmost island of the group called the Society Islands by Captain Cook, who discovered them in July 1769; and it is twenty-eight leagues to the north-west of Otaheite, being situated in latitude  $16^{\circ} 48'$ ,  $150^{\circ} 7'$  west longitude. It has about seven leagues of circuit, and is divided into two peninsulas by an isthmus overflowed at high water: in other parts of the island there are also salt lakes near the sea. It has a very narrow stripe of fertile low land next the shore; and the hills, which are not nearly so high as those of Otaheite, but more strongly marked by volcanic fire, are in some parts entirely cultivated. The productions are similar to those of Otaheite, but earlier in their season. The men are generally larger and more robust: both sexes are less timid and less curious. They were more daring in their thefts from the English, having never felt the force of their weapons of destruction in the manner that the Otaheiteans had done.

Huaheine was always visited by Captain Cook on departing from Otaheite. During his first two voyages, the sovereign power over Huaheine was vested in a friendly old man named Orē, who acted as regent for a boy named Tairetarēa. He was not more than ten years old in 1777, but Ore had then been obliged to resign the government, and no one seeming to succeed him as regent, there was consequently very little authority maintained. It has since that time been visited by Lieutenant Watts, Captain Bligh, and Captain Edwards: but no farther information is afforded by their voyages respecting the government of the country. In the close of 1791, it appears that the chiefs of Huaheine, and of Tapooamanoo, acknowledged the supremacy of Otoo. The wars of Huaheine have always had a relation to the island next to be mentioned.

**ULIETEÀ**, or, more properly, Reiadēa, is situated seven leagues W. S. W. from Huaheine. It is wholly surrounded by reefs, interspersed with small islands, and forming several harbours. One of

these, upon the north-western coast, is in latitude  $16^{\circ} 45' 1''$ , west longitude  $151^{\circ} 34' 1''$ . It is less populous and fertile than Huaheine, although above twice its extent, and more resembling Otaheite in its appearance; but, like the former, it has several salt marshes or lagoons. The inhabitants are in general smaller and darker than those of the preceding islands. Its importance in the cluster to which it belongs, is not now proportionate to its relative magnitude. A few years before Captain Wallis's visit to Otaheite, it was the most eminent of the group, and in strict alliance with the adjacent island of Otahā, as well as with Huaheine. Its decline appears to have originated in the secession of Otahā from this league. The fleets of Huaheine and Ulietea were attacked by the single force of Bolabola. The combat was likely to issue in favour of the united fleets, when that of Otahā came up to assist Bolabola, and decided the victory by a great slaughter of their opponents, who were already exhausted. They pursued their advantage with such alacrity and success, that they conquered Huaheine, in an attack upon that island two days after their former engagement. Many inhabitants of both the subjugated islands took refuge at Otaheite; and having obtained from thence a reinforcement of ten war canoes, they landed at Huaheine in the night, and surprised their conquerors; whom they partly destroyed, and completely drove from that island. They could not, however, regain the ground that had been lost at Ulietea. Its former sovereign, Oorōo, was permitted to return to his hereditary district, Oopōa, at the south-eastern point of the island; but Toopaea and Omac, with many others, were deprived of their possessions, and compelled to seek support in other islands, their property being seized by the victorious chiefs. The latter soon quarrelled among themselves. The people of Otahā claiming an equal share of the spoil, were attacked, and subdued, by their formidable allies of Bolabola; and a chief from that island, named Oroo, was appointed governor of Ulietea by the new sovereign, Opoone. Both these persons were at Ulietea when Captain Cook visited the island in 1769; and Oroo kept the same power during his latter

voyage after it; but in that of 1777, Opoone, the former sovereign, had returned to Huahine; and Oré, who had been regent of that island, then resided at Ulietea.

At the death of Opoone his dominions were divided, and both Ulietea and Otaha fell to the possession of a brother of Iddea, now known at Otaheite by the name of Mannemanne, who designed that at his own decease the sovereignty of these islands should revert to his nephew Otoo. His authority does not, however, appear to have been sufficient to secure the reversion, nor even the possession of this dignity; of which he has since been deprived; either by his temporary subjects, or by their neighbours of Bolabola.

The people of Ulietea behaved very submissively to Cook upon his first visit, apparently in the hope excited by Toopaca, that he would rescue them from the yoke of Bolabola. He was also treated with much friendship by Orco; but the thefts which are customary at these islands could not be prevented by the authority of the latter. The mythology adopted by these poor heathens seems to be better understood here than in the other islands, and even to be regularly taught in its several districts. Both Toopaea and Mannemanne, after being expelled from Ulietea, acted as chief priests at Otaheite.

OTAHA is not more than two miles distant from the northernmost point of the preceding island; and no passage for shipping has been found through the reef which connects them. It is about half the size of Ulietea, which it resembles in its aspect, but is still less fertile or populous. Captain Cook visited it in 1769 with his boats, in company with Opoone, who then principally resided here. In 1773, Lieutenant Pickersgill went likewise in a boat entirely round the island to procure provisions; but he was obliged to make reprisals, in order to recover his stock in trade which had been stolen. The English were treated here with the same tokens of respect that the natives shew to their own principal chiefs, in consequence of the account which the latter had received from Toopaca. The close vicinity of Ulietea has rendered it unnecessary for any ship to anchor at Otaha.

Captain Edwards examined both these islands on the 10th of May 1791, in his search after Fletcher Christian and his companions.

BOLABŌLA (more usually pronounced Borabora) is situated four leagues N. W. of O-taha, to which it is inferior in extent; but the reef with which it is surrounded is nearly full of islets, much larger than those which are scattered among the rocks that enclose Otaha and Ulietea. It differs from those islands, and from Huahine, in having but one harbour on its coast; whereas the shores of the others being strongly indented, form like the coasts of Eimeo, numerous places of shelter for shipping. It is also distinguished by a very lofty double-peaked mountain in its centre, and is more rude and craggy than the rest of the Society isles. Its eastern side has a barren appearance; the western is more fertile: a low border which surrounds the whole, together with the islands on the reef, are productive and populous. Its earliest inhabitants are said to have been marauders banished from the neighbouring islands. Their numbers rapidly increasing, and their military prowess rising to great credit, they established their authority in both the islands last mentioned, as well as in the two which are next to be described. Their conquests acquired them so much respect, that the supposed tutelary divinity of Bolabola, named Oorā, or Orāa, had been adopted by the people of Ooraboo, in preference to two imaginary deities, whom they formerly worshipped. The Bolabolan warriors are punctured in a different manner from those of the more eastern islands.

Captain Cook did not land at Bolabola upon his first or second voyage. In 1777 he was prevented by contrary winds from anchoring in the harbour, which is very spacious; and he landed in his boat, to purchase an anchor which had been lost by M. de Bougainville at Hedea, and had been conveyed from thence to Bolabola for the gratification of Opoone. That chief, although then very old and feeble, was still universally esteemed and feared. The rain which the Spaniards had left at Oweiapcha, had also been sent to this distant place: Captain Cook therefore presented Opoone with an ewe to

accompany it. That chief having died, probably during the long interval which elapsed between the voyages of Cook and those of later navigators, was succeeded in his government of this and the following islands by his daughter. She was about twelve years old in 1774, and had then been betrothed to a chief named Boba, who governed Otaha, under Opoone, and was designed to succeed him in the sovereignty. In 1791, when Captain Edwards visited Bolabola to inquire after the mutineers, a man, said to be named Tatahoë, had the chief authority. The identity of this person with Boba is not rendered unlikely by the difference of names, one title being seldom borne so long a time by the same person. These four islands were named by Captain Cook the SOCIETY Islands, on account of the short distances by which they are separated from each other. The licentious society called Arreōe, extends both to this group and to Otaheite. The members of it wander perpetually in great numbers from one island to another, performing dances and plays, and indulging in every kind of profligacy.

The small island of *Maurōoa* lies about four leagues west of the northern part of Bolabola, to which it is subject. It is wholly surrounded by a reef, and its centre rises in a high round hill. Its productions and inhabitants are similar to those of the neighbouring countries; but it has not any harbour for shipping. It is said that pearls are procured from this island by the people of Otaheite.

*Toobāe*, consisting of some very small low islets, connected by a reef, lies four or five leagues north of Bolabola; to which it is subservient, in a similar manner as Tethuroa, which it resembles, is to Otaheite. The stated inhabitants are only a few families; but as the coast abounds with turtle, it is much resorted to, not only by the Society islanders, but by the natives of a low island to the eastward, called *Pafāa*, which has not yet been seen by Europeans. It is asserted that their language is unintelligible to the natives of the Society isles; which leads to the supposition that some colony has been formed there of a different race from all the neighbouring islanders. Two other

similar assemblages of islets and reefs, which lie from thirty to forty leagues more westward, are known to the Society islanders by the names *Mopēha* and *Whennooa-ōora*. They were discovered by Captain Wallis in 1767, who called them Lord Howe's and Scilly islands. The latter are inhabited, the former are only occasionally frequented. Both of them abound with cocoa-nut trees, turtle, the pearl-oyster, and all kinds of fish common to the climate.

To the eastward of Otaheite are scattered numerous other islands, chiefly of the description of those last mentioned, and commonly full of people. Many of them were discovered by Quiros, Schouten and Le Maire, Roggewein, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Bougainville, Cook, Edwards, Bligh, Vancouver and Broughton: and some are now added by Captain Wilson. The intricacy and difficulty of the navigation has procured them the titles of the Labyrinth, and the Dangerous Archipelago. They have been found dispersed from  $14^{\circ}$  to  $27^{\circ}$  of latitude, and as far as  $25^{\circ}$  eastward from Otaheite. All the inhabitants appear to be of the same race with the Society islanders, but are somewhat darker in their complexions, and more ferocious in their manners. Many other islands, beside those discovered by Europeans, have been described by the natives of the Society isles, as lying to the eastward, southward, and westward of their group; and several of them are represented as lofty, fertile, and extensive. An island, called *Oheterōa*, situated in latitude  $22^{\circ} 27'$ ,  $150^{\circ} 47'$  west longitude, was discovered by Captain Cook 13th August 1769, and recognised by Toopaea, who was then on board the Endeavour. The same person laid down the positions of seventy-seven islands, which were known to him either by observation or report. Not far from Oheteroa is *Toobōuai*, already mentioned as the island where Fletcher Christian attempted to form a settlement. It lies in latitude  $23^{\circ} 25'$ , and  $149^{\circ} 23'$  west longitude. Both these islands are populous, although neither of them is twenty miles in circuit. The former differs from the Society Islands only in having no surrounding reef of coral. The latter entirely resembles them in appearance; but the natives are more sedate

and less hospitable. It was first inhabited within a few past generations, by some people who had attempted to go with a canoe from an island far to the westward, toward another with which they had customary intercourse, but were driven by tempestuous weather upon Toobouai. Another canoe, in which was a chief of Ulietea, an ancestor of Iddea, passing from thence to Otaheite was likewise driven upon this island some years later. He was admitted by those who had preceded him, to the chief authority at Toobouai; and he divided the country into three districts, which retain the names of Reidea, Waheine, and Taha, three of the Society isles. A third canoe also drifted hither, with the skeleton of a man in it, which was recognised by one of the Otaheiteans who accompanied the mutineers of the *Bounty* to Toobouai. He had killed this man in one of the sea-fights between Pomarre and Maheine, and was afterward obliged to escape by swimming, leaving his canoe, with the corpse in it, to the direction of the winds and waves. Accidents similar to these are known to have occurred in several other parts of this ocean. An instance is given by Captain Cook, of a canoe which, likewise in attempting the passage between Otaheite and Ulietea, was driven to an island called Watoo, two hundred leagues distant. Of twenty persons, only four survived the famine and fatigue which they endured before they reached that place, where they were kindly received. Three of them were found there, and recognised by Omac, in 1777, when Captain Cook discovered the island, at least twelve years after their arrival. It is situated in latitude  $20^{\circ} 1'$ ,  $158^{\circ} 15'$  west longitude. It is small, high, and populous. There are several islands in its neighbourhood, some of which are subject to Watoo. All the inhabitants are of the same race and language with those already described.

We may hope that the gospel will be spread from Otaheite, by means of its usual intercourse with other islands, to those of Maitea, Tethuroa, and Eimeo, the four Society isles, and the smaller islands dependent upon them. All these have sometimes been called the Society isles; but the reason for which some of them were so named

by Cook does not apply to the rest. There is at the same time so strong a common resemblance, and so intimate a connexion among the whole of this group, that it requires to be distinguished by some collective title. The name of his present Majesty was given to Otaheite by Captain Wallis; but it has been superseded, as all foreign denominations should be, by that which the natives themselves give to their country. They are not however known to give *collective* titles to the groups of islands inhabited by them. All those which have been described were brought to notice, revisited, enriched with European articles of food and commerce, and at length have received instruction in christianity, during the reign of his present Majesty: whom may God preserve! Other assemblages of islands in the Pacific Ocean have, for much less important causes, been named after Spanish monarchs; as the Philippine and Caroline islands. We shall, therefore, use the liberty when speaking of the whole group, to denominate them the GEORGIAN islands. The direction wherein they lie renders the passage to windward difficult and precarious; and the distinct governments by which they are mutually divided and opposed, must be expected to retard, in some measure the progress of the gospel through this cluster; but we trust, through the divine blessing, that these obstacles will be surmounted by the peculiar advantages attending our numerous mission at the principal island, the influence of which over the others has been already greatly increased by its frequent intercourse with the English.

*Geographical and historical Account of Tongataboo, and the Islands which are connected with it.*

TONGATABOO presents an aspect very different from that of Otaheite; to the westward of which it is situated, at a distance of four hundred and eighty leagues, and of more than three hundred leagues from Watēoo, the westernmost of the islands before mentioned. It is



about twenty leagues in circuit, and nearly triangular in its form. Its northern side is indented by a bay, which communicates with an extensive lagoon within the island. The western point of this inlet was ascertained by Captain Cook to be in latitude  $21^{\circ} 8' 19''$ , and  $175^{\circ} 4' 42''$  west longitude. On this side also an extensive harbour is formed by reefs and islands which cover its whole length. The shore is in this part low and sandy; but ascends on the other sides of the island, in a perpendicular coral rock, from seven to ten feet above the sea at flood-tide, which rises from three feet and a half to four feet and three quarters. A reef that lies two miles N. W. by W. from the northernmost point of the island forms a road for shipping; but it is far from being secure, the coral bank, which is the only anchoring-ground, being very steep, and extending only three cables' length from the shore. The greater part of the coast round the island is guarded by flat rocks about two hundred yards wide, and of greater extent toward the south-eastern point, near which is the most elevated part of the island, about one hundred feet high above the sea. The interior is diversified by many gentle rising grounds. The soil is loose and black to a considerable depth, but intermixed with strata of reddish clay: it is chiefly very fertile, and in many parts highly cultivated; the plantations, in the midst of which the principal houses are placed, being also very neatly enclosed. The vegetable productions are mostly similar to those of the places already described, the cocoa-nut being in greater perfection, the bread-fruit in less, than they are at the more lofty islands. There are several plants at Tongataboo that were not known at Otaheite; especially shaddocks, and a new species of the Jesuits' bark, likely to equal that of Peru in medicinal virtue. It is well-furnished with trees, which grow very luxuriantly. Water is somewhat scarce, and mostly brackish. There were no dogs before they were supplied by Europeans. Of other animals there are the same kinds as at Otaheite, and several species of birds not common to that island, particularly green parroquets with red feathers on their heads. Some kinds of birds are usually tamed and fed by the inhabi-

tants. There are also bats in great numbers, and some of such magnitude, that the tips of their wings, when extended, are from three to four feet apart.

This island was discovered 27th January 1643, by Abel Jansz Tasman, a Dutch navigator. The inhabitants came unarmed on board his ships, without the least apparent design or apprehension of mischief. They exchanged hogs, fowls, and fruits, for European articles, which they also pilfered as they found opportunity; but in other respects they behaved in the most courteous and friendly manner. Tasman anchored in the roadstead; and sent his boats, to search for fresh water, into the bay already described. To the former he gave the name of Van Diemen, and to the latter that of Maria, in honour of the person then governor of the Dutch East Indies and his lady. And elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

Captain Cook, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, visited this place in 1773, having previously spent some days at the neighbouring island of Kōoa. They anchored in Van Diemen road, October 3d; and the inhabitants, who had met them half way between the islands, behaved with the same confidence and kindness, that they had shewn,

one hundred and thirty years before, to Tasman. They fell also to the same practices of pilfering; for which some of them who were peculiarly daring were punished, without betraying appearances of resentment. Hēte-hēte and Omae, who were on board the ships, were at first perplexed by a difference of dialect; as these islanders made use of the consonants f, k, and hard g, which are unknown at the Georgian islands; but they soon perceived the identity of the radical language, and became able to converse fluently with the natives.

A man, named Attago, who had some authority among his countrymen, attached himself to Captain Cook, and rendered him essential services. He introduced the English to an elderly chief of superior rank, named Toobōu, who likewise acted in a friendly manner, although with a degree of reserve. A person of much higher dignity was also met with, named Latōo Libōooloo, to whom homage was paid by all ranks, although he appeared very defective of intellect. He bore the title of Arēckee, which was applied to no other person except Pōulaho, then the sovereign chief, and fifth in descent from the person who reigned at the period of Tasman's visit. The mother of Libooloo, who lived at a distant island of the same group, was elder sister of Poulaho's father; and had this son, and two daughters, by a man who came from the extensive neighbouring islands named Fejē. The members of this family were called Tammahā, and ranked above Poulaho himself, notwithstanding his possession of the supreme power, either on account of their mother's seniority, or of some pre-eminent dignity of their foreign parent. One of the daughters resided with their mother, the other at Tongataboo. Libooloo had also an infant son at Eooa, to whom extreme attention was paid. Poulaho was then absent from Tongataboo.

It became necessary to prohibit the purchase of curiosities from the islanders, in order to obtain adequate supplies of food: these were afterwards abundantly furnished. Weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner, and

their clubs very curiously carved. Some of their canoes were executed in a style far superior to those of Otaheite, the planks being feather-edged, and lapped over, which prevented the water entering, as it continually does into the others. They had less cloth, but more matting than the Georgian islanders: it was more neatly and beautifully made, and was used to cover their floors, as well as for dress. Their basket-work also discovered much ingenuity, and their cloth was glazed so as to resist wet. The women were far less immodest; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called káva. The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite. An old drunken man, then thought to be a priest, was respected as a person of rank; but some images, found in the house where the dead were interred, were evidently objects of contempt rather than of worship; and no article of food was deposited in those places. Many of the people were observed to have lost their little fingers. Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Otaheiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. They were then little acquainted with the value of iron, of which the only article found among them was an awl, made from a nail. This had been brought from a distant island, where Captain Wallis had left it; the articles which Tasman gave them having been expended, and forgotten since his voyage: the tradition of his visit had nevertheless been preserved, and even its period was ascertained by them.

Captain Cook revisited Tongataboo in company with Captain Clerke in 1777; and anchored on the 16th of June in Maria bay, the access to which through the reef was found difficult. They had spent a considerable time among the more northern islands that are subject to Tongataboo; and were accompanied from thence by Poulaho, whose family name was found to be Futtafāihe, by which title his brother, and his son then under twelve years old, were usually called. Poulaho was short, and extremely corpulent, about forty years old, and in his

behaviour sensible and sedate. His consort was daughter of an elderly chief named Marewāge. Her brother Fenōu, who was then thirty years of age, filled the office of commander in chief; the most frequent duties of which appeared to consist in the punishment of criminals. His authority, it was said, extended to the conduct of the sovereign himself. Both the father and son were thin and tall. Marewage had also another son, named Tooboueitōa; and a brother named Toobou, much older than the chief of that name before mentioned. All these persons were highly revered by their countrymen; and they vied with each other in the profusion of entertainments which they provided for their English guests, to whom a house was assigned at the western point of the creek leading into the lagoon. In the neighbourhood was observed a curious causeway, built of coral stone across a morass, with a kind of circus in its centre, apparently of very ancient construction. The country immediately around was uncultivated; and the vast concourse of people who came either to perform in the entertainments exhibited to the English, or to be spectators of them, was productive of various inconveniences. Several thefts were committed; but no act of violence, except on a goat that Captain Cook had intended to leave there. He presented a bull and cow, a horse and mare, a ram and two ewes, with some goats, to Poulaho and Fenou, who were the persons most likely to take care of them. A couple of rabbits, which had been given to the latter, had already bred; and some Otaheitean dogs, which had been left in 1773 with Attago, had multiplied. Some of the animals having previously been stolen from Captain Cook, he had ventured to put the king and several chiefs into confinement, till restitution was made. The natives assembled in arms to release them, but by Poulaho's order they desisted; and the animals being brought back, he and his nobles were set at liberty, without any diminution of their friendship, or even interruption of their entertainments. At the close of these, some officers, wandering over the island, were plundered both of the articles they had taken for trade, and of their arms. On receiving this intel-

ligence; Poulaho and the other chiefs prudently removed from the neighbourhood, to avoid a second captivity; but they returned upon being assured that no violence would be used, and they caused the things which had been stolen to be restored. Captain Cook then visited Mōoa, a village situated a league from the bay, upon the banks of the inlet, where the chiefs have places of abode and elegant plantations. The boat and its contents were left unguarded on the bank, by the direction of Poulaho, who engaged that nothing would be stolen. The ships were found, upon their return, to have been likewise exempt from depredation, through the vigilance and authority of Fenou: but a quarrel took place the following day between a working party and some of the natives, three of whom were confined and flogged, and a fourth shot through the neck with a ball by the centry. The poor man narrowly escaped death, and no measures were taken for revenge, either by the chiefs or the common people. The king dining on board seemed highly pleased with the pewter plates; and being presented with one, said that he would substitute it for the bowl which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy. At another dinner, which was given on shore by Captain Cook, he invited, at Poulaho's desire, Mongōula Kāipa, the sister of Latoo Libooloo. The king had been accustomed to abstain from eating in her brother's presence, without shewing him any other mark of reverence: but to her he paid the same homage that he received from his own subjects, embracing her feet with his hands.

Captain Cook prolonged his stay till July 5, to observe an eclipse of the sun; and he was delayed several days later for want of a favourable wind to carry the ships out of the harbour by a channel that he had discovered to the eastward, which was safer than the northern passage whereby they had entered the bay. During this time he revisited Mōoa, and was present at a curious ceremony called the *natche*. On the 11th of July they, with some difficulty, cleared the reefs by which the harbour is formed, and proceeded to Eōoa.

It is not known that any other navigator visited Tongataboo before

the last day of 1787, when M. de la Pérouse passed it to the westward without anchoring. He laid to, off the southern shore, and seven or eight canoes having approached within twenty yards of the French ships, the natives leaped out of them, and swam alongside with coconuts in each hand, which they exchanged very honestly for bits of iron, nails, and small hatchets. They soon after went on board with confidence and cheerfulness; and a young man, who asserted that he was the son of Fenou, received several presents with cries of joy. He pressed them to land, and promised abundance of provisions, which their canoes were not capable of bringing off. The islanders were noisy, but had no appearance of ferocity, although they brought some clubs in their boats. They had all lost two joints of their little fingers. La Pérouse bore away, the evening of the following day, seeing no prospect of obtaining provisions without coming to an anchor.

Captain Edwards, in the Pandora, paid a visit almost equally transient to this island in the latter end of July 1791, in search after the mutineers of the Bounty. He obtained provisions, but could get no water that was not brackish. It was understood that Fenou had then lately died.

Messrs. D'Entrecasteaux and Huon, in the French sloops La Recherche and L'Esperance, anchored at Tongataboo on the 3d of March 1793, and were very hospitably entertained. They staid a week, but the detail of their visit has not transpired.

No other European vessel is known to have touched at this island; for the account given by the Europeans who were found here by the Duff, cannot be depended upon. It is not improbable that Tongataboo might be visited by the Spanish navigators Malcspini and Basteменте, who are said to have discovered in this neighbourhood a group of islands, called the Babacos, about the same time that the French sloops passed by.

The intercourse of Europeans at Tongataboo having been so much less frequent than at Otaheite, it was with somewhat less confidence that a mission was attempted at the former than at the latter place.



The result will appear from the relation of the voyage, which also throws light upon several circumstances, for which preceding navigators could not account. The nature of the government of this island is not yet wholly developed. Captain Cook was much at a loss respecting it, and had supposed Fenu to be the sovereign, till he became acquainted with Poulaho. When these two personages met, the mistake was immediately corrected: but the dignity and power of the commander in chief, which seem, like the sovereignty, to be hereditary, are so great, that the apparent superiority of one above the other must depend in a considerable degree upon the personal qualities of those who fill these stations. Poulaho being dead, his son Futtasaihe succeeded him in the sovereignty; but he being a voluptuous man, the government is chiefly conducted by Fenu Toogahoue, the present commander in chief, who is said to be a nephew of the former. His superiority as a warrior and as a man of business, gives a preponderance to his authority. The influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Toogahoue had waged with success. The government here, as at Otaheite, is evidently in a great measure aristocratical; but the power of the chiefs is more despotic at Tongataboo, although exercised with less outrage to private property. The officers of state here likewise maintain a kind of general jurisdiction: while at Otaheite every thing seems to be decided either by superior force, or by arbitration in the separate districts; and criminal punishment is there unknown, except in the selection of obnoxious characters for occasional sacrifices. The latter seem to be offered at Tongataboo much less frequently, and only upon funereal occasions. Infant murders are here unknown; as well as infant succession, and the society of arceoes, which appear to be principal causes of that horrid custom in the Georgian islands. The lascivious practices which are almost universal there, seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. The necessity of cultivation, and the regard paid to private property, have rendered the people of Tongataboo



more ingenious and industrious: and being seldom at war, they appear to be remarkably free, in general, from habits of suspicion or revenge. Their muscular strength and activity are great; although in size they are much exceeded by the chiefs of Otaheite, and of some other islands. Intrepidity and dexterity are striking features of their general character; and these qualities naturally render those individuals who are the most depraved, peculiarly mischievous.

Tongataboo, considered in itself, is evidently desirable as the seat of a mission; but its principal importance arises from the extensive and intimate connexion that it has with other islands. While most of those which are dispersed over the Pacific Ocean are independent of each other, Tongataboo is the centre of government to a surprising number. The natives named more than one hundred and fifty of these when Captain Cook was last there; but several are uninhabited, many of them very small, and some were at that time independent of their government, and even hostile to it. Only fifteen of these are lofty, and few are so large as Tongataboo. Captain Cook explored more than sixty of the whole number, and other navigators have discovered many of the remaining islands of this group. The direction in which it chiefly extends being north and south, renders the communication each way practicable during the trade wind; and most, if not all the islands, are regularly visited by the sovereign or the commander in chief.

It remains to give some account of other remarkable islands, which have been discovered in this neighbourhood; and first of such as are immediately subject to Tongataboo.

The island of Eōa lies south-east of Tongataboo, from whence it is distant nearly four leagues. Its form approaches to an oval, with its longest diameter from north to south. Its eastern side is placed by Captain Cook in  $174^{\circ} 40'$  west longitude; and its southern extremity in latitude  $21^{\circ} 20'$ . It is about ten leagues in circuit, and almost as high as the Isle of Wight, being perceptible from a distance of twelve leagues at sea. The south-eastern coast rises immediately from the

sea with great inequalities; but on the north-west part are valleys, meadows, and plains, of considerable extent. From that quarter the ground ascends gradually to the highest part, which then continues nearly level. The soil on the heights is chiefly composed of a soft sandy stone, but in other parts is usually a reddish clay, of a great depth. A deep valley, which is two hundred feet above the level of the sea, consists almost wholly of coral rock, but is covered with trees. The cultivated plantations chiefly border upon the coasts. There are springs of fine water in various parts of the island, but none of them are conveniently accessible to shipping. The best anchorage was found upon the north-west side, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 20' 30''$ , on a gravelly bank extending two miles from the land, with depths from twenty to thirty fathom. Abreast of it is a creek, which affords convenient landing for boats at all times of the tide. In its produce and inhabitants this island resembles Tongataboo, except that it is not the usual residence of any of the superior chiefs, although several of them have property at Eooa. It has, notwithstanding, greatly the advantage of Tongataboo, for pleasantness of situation, as well as for goodness of fresh water; and apparently must exceed it in salubrity.

The island was discovered by Tasman, who did not land there; nor does it appear certain that any navigator beside Cook has been upon it. He visited Eooa in 1773, before he came to Tongataboo; and in 1777, after he left that place. At both times he met with the most cordial reception, although he could not obtain the same profusion of supplies that was lavished upon the English by the court of Tongataboo. A person named Taōofa, who exercised the principal authority, entertained them with a public spectacle of dancing, boxing, wrestling, &c. which, though upon a smaller scale than at the seat of government, collected together a concourse of people, and was productive, as usual, of some disorderly conduct. The peaceable and affectionate behaviour of the people, in general, was such as to induce him to name these islands, and the others which he visited in the same group, The FRIENDLY Islands. To the anchorage at Eooa he gave

the name of English road. He left a ram and two cows upon this island.

The third island of this group which requires our notice is ANAMOOKA. It is situated in latitude  $20^{\circ} 15'$ ,  $174^{\circ} 31'$  west longitude, about eighteen leagues distant from Tongataboo, which it resembles in its aspect. Its form is triangular, and none of its sides exceeds the length of four miles. Its extent is also diminished by a large salt lagoon, which almost cuts off its south-eastern angle from the rest. Its coasts are surrounded by small islets, sand-banks and reefs. A harbour is formed by these on the south-western side of the island, with anchorage in ten and twelve fathom, the bottom coral sand. It is well sheltered, but no fresh water is to be obtained near the shore. On the north-west side are two coves, to which there are narrow passages for boats through the reef. Just to the southward of these is a bank, free from rocks, with twenty and twenty-five fathom depth, one or two miles from shore. The coast rises nearly perpendicular fifteen or twenty feet from the sea, and the interior appears level, excepting some small hillocks, and a more considerable one toward the centre of the island. It is similar to Tongataboo in soil and productions, but is less cultivated, even in proportion to its size. It is however better furnished with water, there being a pond about three quarters of a mile from the landing place on the north-west side, of half a mile in circuit. The water is a little brackish, but having in part answered the purposes of navigators, their visits to this island have been more frequent than to those already mentioned, although the distance from their ships has rendered watering hazardous as well as difficult.

Tasman anchored here on the 25th of January 1643, and was treated very kindly by the natives in general, and by a chief, whose presence and authority probably rendered this visit the more tranquil. He gave to the island the name of Rotterdam, having called the former two Amsterdam and Middleburg. Captain Cook first arrived at Anamooka on the 20th of June 1774 in the Resolution, having lost the company of Captain Furneaux in the Adventure, subsequent to

their visit to Tongataboo the preceding year. He approached Anamooka from the south-eastward, after having doubled the low islands and shoals lying in that direction, to the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 25'$ . Thefts were more frequently committed here than at the southernmost islands of the group; the character of the women appeared also to be much more licentious, and that of the men more daring. No farther mischief than plunder was attempted, and this was severely punished by their European guests. None of the principal people were present to restrain the unruly; but some of the natives distinguished themselves by the goodness of their conduct, and most of them behaved well, except when peculiar temptation inflamed their cupidity for the novelties of which their visitors were possessed. The chastisement inflicted upon the offenders effectually improved their behaviour before the departure of the ship, which took place on the 29th of June.

Captain Cook returned to this island in 1777, in company with Captain Clerke; and anchored in the road on the 1st of May. A person called Toobou then resided as chief, and another, named Tāipa, who also acted as principal officer in Poulaho's family, became very serviceable. He introduced to them Fenou, who resorted hither from Tongataboo on being informed of their arrival. This great man prevailed upon Captain Cook to sail to the islands called Hapāe, in preference to the former, which he meant to have immediately revisited. They accordingly proceeded to Hapac on the 14th of the same month, by which time the two ships' companies seemed nearly to have drained Anamooka of provisions; but on returning early in June, the stock was found surprisingly recruited. Thefts had been practised during their former stay, in a private manner, even by some of the chiefs, till they were compelled to make restitution; and on the return of the vessels, when all the people of rank were absent, very little order was observed. Poulaho and Fenou arrived soon afterward, and within three days accompanied the navigators toward Tongataboo.

Lieutenant Bligh, in the *Bounty*, anchored at Anamooka on the 23d of April 1789. The natives, who immediately came along-side

with yams and cocoa-nuts in their canoes, did not offer to come on board till they had asked permission. The next day he was visited by Taipa, who was then old and lame, but retained the impression of his intercourse with the English twelve years before, in such a degree that he perfectly understood their pronounciation of South-Sea words, which no other person there was able to do. He informed them that their old friends were then living at Tongataboo, and he offered a large house for the use of the English, supposing they would, as formerly, have had a party on shore. Several things that were stolen were restored by his influence. Some more daring robberies being committed, and the natives crowding in large canoes from the neighbouring islands, Mr. Bligh thought it necessary, on the 26th, when the ship was under sail, to confine several of the chiefs, in order to recover what had been lost. This measure producing no other effect than extreme distress in his prisoners, he dismissed them with presents, and departed. Pine-apples, which had been planted in the islands visited by Captain Cook, were found here at that time in a flourishing state.

Captain Edwards twice visited Anamooka in 1791, having appointed this island for a place of rendezvous with the schooner that had attended him from Otaheite, but afterward lost company of the Pandora. He first anchored here on the 29th of June, and immediately dispatched Lieutenant Hayward to inquire at the islands of Hapac and Fejē, after Fletcher Christian and his party, but without success, excepting in their traffic for provisions. The licentiousness of the women at Anamooka seems to have been greatly promoted by European profligacy during this visit; and instances of ferocity were manifested by the native men, which had till then been unknown; especially in one case, where Lieutenant Corner narrowly escaped being murdered. They were, notwithstanding, very attentive to the instructions which the officers gave them on the cultivation of the exotic plants, and transplanted the pine-apples immediately on receiving directions. Poulaho and one of the Toobous, who had met

Captain Edwards at Anamooka, sailed with him early in July to the neighbouring island of Toofoa, whither they were going to collect tribute. On the 29th of that month he again anchored here, and being still disappointed of intelligence about the schooner, departed the 3d of August.

No subsequent visit to this island has been made known. The detail already given is more than proportionate to the importance of the place. It is ranked by the natives among the smaller islands of their archipelago, which contains thirty-five larger than this. A disease of the leprous kind, which seems to be common to all the islands of this ocean, is said to prevail more at Anamooka than in any other part of this group. The venereal disease, which was certainly introduced here by the English, has also probably made a dreadful progress, in consequence of the unrestrained debauchery practised by its last visitors, who are acknowledged to have been greatly infected when they arrived at this place from Otaheite. Wood being an article procured here by all the ships, it is necessary to mention the damage that has been incurred in cutting a tree, called fāitanoo by the natives, which is a species of pepper, and yields a milky juice that injures the eyes and skin of the workmen.

The island mentioned above, named TOOFŌA, is situated N. N. W. from Anamooka, at a distance of ten leagues: it is observable from thence by means of its height, and of a volcano at its summit, which almost constantly emitted smoke, and sometimes threw up stones. Its shores are steep, and covered with black sand. The rocks are hollow, and in some places of a columnar form. The mountain, except in spots that appear to have been recently burned, is covered with verdure, shrubs, and trees. The coast is about five leagues in circuit. To the north-east of this island, and only two miles distant, is another of much less extent, but of thrice its height, which is called KAŌ; it is a mountainous rock, of a conical form. Both these were discovered by Tasman, and have been seen by every subsequent navigator of this group. Captain Cook passed between them, and had no

foundings in the channel by which they are separated. Each island was understood to be inhabited, but no European had landed upon either, at the time when the mutiny suddenly occurred in the *Bounty*, two days after the departure of that vessel from Anamooka. Lieutenant Bligh was forced into a boat with eighteen of his people, when ten leagues south-west from Toofoa. He attempted, therefore, to get an immediate supply of bread-fruit and water at that island, which, as he understood, afforded those articles. The next morning, 28th April 1789, they landed in a cove on the north-west coast, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 41'$ . They climbed the heights, but obtained only some coconuts and plantains, and a few gallons of water from holes in the rocks. The weather being too boisterous to proceed, they sheltered themselves by night in an adjacent cave. On the 1st of May several of the inhabitants brought them a small supply, and retired peaceably in the evening. The next day their number greatly increased. Some principal persons also came round the north side of the island in canoes, and among them one of the chiefs whom Lieutenant Bligh had threatened to carry from Anamooka, upon an occasion which has already been mentioned. They offered to accompany him to Tongataboo when the weather should moderate; but some symptoms appearing of a design to obtain by force the articles that he could not afford to barter with them, he determined to depart that evening, as they were not inclined to retire. They had previously sold him some of their weapons, and they now allowed his people to carry their property into the boat; but they would not suffer him to embark, and a contest ensued, in which most of the English were wounded by stones, and one of them was killed. The rest escaped, and bore away toward New Holland; from whence they reached the East Indies in their boat, enduring extreme hardship, but no farther loss of lives.

This unhappy event furnishes the only instance of an European being killed at any island of this group, notwithstanding the severity, and even the cruelty, which has frequently been exercised toward the natives, on account of the thefts committed by them. That their



eagerness to obtain our property is such as to endanger a small party landing at any of the less civilized islands, is evident, not only from Captain Bligh's experience, but also from that of a few people on board the schooner which had accompanied the Pandora from Otaheite. After parting company, as before mentioned, she unfortunately came to Tofoa instead of Anamooka, where Captain Edwards probably was at the very time. They obtained some water and provisions from the natives; but the latter attempted to seize the vessel, in which there were only nine people. These, however, being amply provided with fire-arms, successfully resisted the assault of numbers vastly superior. Few days could apparently have elapsed after this occurrence, when the Pandora arrived at Tofoa with Poulaho on board. Lieutenant Hayward, who had been there with Bligh, recollected some of their former assailants. They shunned his notice, and had perhaps more reason for doing so than he knew, as at that time he received no intelligence of the schooner.

HAPÆ (sometimes pronounced Habēi) has been mentioned as the place to which Captain Cook accompanied Fenou and Taipa at the desire of the former, from Anamooka in 1777. It is reckoned by the natives as one of the more extensive islands of their group, but it consists of four or more low islets, six or seven miles each in length, which are joined together by a reef. They are not more than two or three miles broad. That islet which is most cultivated is called Lefōoga, or Lefooka; and this alone exceeds Anamooka in the number and extent of its plantations. At its south-western end is an artificial mount fifty feet in diameter at the summit, which is raised to the height of forty feet above the rest of the ground. The Resolution and Discovery anchored abreast of the reef that connects this island with another to the north-east which is called Fōa, in twenty-four fathom, with a bottom of coral sand. A creek in the shore of Lefōoga, three quarters of a mile from the ships, afforded convenient landing at all times. Proper measures having been taken by Fenou and Taipa, an abundant supply of provisions was obtained, and public diversions were



splendidly exhibited; but these chiefs were less careful to prevent the theft of European articles. They left Captain Cook on the 22d of the same month, requesting him to wait till they returned from Vavōu, which they represented to be two days sail in their canoes to the northward of Hapac. Finding it difficult to obtain supplies in their absence, he removed on the 26th, southward of Lefooga, and searched in vain for a channel between the low islands. That which lies next to Lefooga, in this direction, is called Hoolāeva, and is destitute of cultivation, being used only for fishing and catching turtle; but an artificial mount, similar to that in Lefooga, was observed upon it. Poulaho met the ships before their departure, and accompanied them on the 29th, in their passage among the small islands and reefs, which obstruct the navigation between Hapac and Anamooka.

Fran. Ant. Maurelle, a Spanish discoverer, was entangled in the same navigation in March 1781, after having been very hospitably entertained at some islands immediately to the northward of Hapac. He found a passage with a depth of five fathom, between the latter and the islands to the westward of it, which had been missed by Captain Cook. Meeting with fresh obstacles among those islands which lie directly north of Anamooka, he bore away toward Kao and Toofoa. While amidst the islands, he trafficked with the natives, who came off to the ship in their canoes. A person who was said to be the chief over forty-eight islands, also came on board after sending presents. He promised the same public diversions and contributions with which the English had been entertained, to induce Maurelle to land. The most southern point of the island, where this man is said to have resided, is placed in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 39'$ . The longitudes assigned by Maurelle are several degrees too far to the westward. He did not suspect the islands which he named Galvez, Gran Montana, and San Christoval, to be those called by the natives Hapac, Kao, and Toofoa; and he left Anamooka and Tongataboo out of sight to the eastward, but saw the two small rocky islands, Hōonga Tōnga and Hōonga Hapac, in latitude  $20^{\circ} 32'$ , and named them Las Culebras. He dis-

covered a dangerous reef, extending two leagues, and leaving to the southward a channel, three leagues wide, between the reef and those islands. He also saw the high uninhabited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 22'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 59'$  west longitude. This he called La Sola.

An island, lying in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 57'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 16' 54''$  west longitude, was the first that Maurelle discovered in approaching the Friendly Islands. He fell in with it 26th February 1781, and named it AMARGURA (Bitterness), on account of his *severe* disappointment of obtaining refreshments from it, no landing-place being found even for boats, and the island itself having a singular appearance of barrenness. Upon a considerable mountain within it, not a tree was to be seen. In July 1791 Captain Edwards coasted the north-west side of this island, and observed the appearance of a tolerable landing-place in that quarter. That part of the coast was flat table land, without eminence or indentation, and from the edge of the surface smoke issued along its whole extent. He called it Gardner's island.

An island called by the natives LATTAI, in latitude  $18^{\circ} 47' 20''$ ,  $174^{\circ} 48'$  west longitude, was discovered by Maurelle the day after he had passed the former. It consists chiefly of a vast conical mountain, the summit of which appeared to be burnt, but the sides were covered with trees; and it is surrounded with a lower border which is very fertile, and affords fresh water. Many canoes came off, and the people in them, among whom was the chief of the island, behaved with much confidence and kindness, and sold cocoa-nuts and bananas to the Spaniards. Captain Edwards gave this place the name of Bickerton's island.

Maurelle proceeded toward some islands fifteen leagues distant, and lying east-north-east from the preceding; the appearance of which promised better anchorage, as well as more abundant refreshments. He was prevented by the wind from reaching them till the 4th of March, when, after passing between some smaller elevated islands on the north-west of the principal land, he anchored in a creek bordered

with houses and plantations. In approaching this station, the ship had every day been surrounded by numerous canoes, laden with all kinds of provisions, in exchange for which the islanders wanted to have tools, but obtained only clothing, Maurelle having strangely prohibited the sale of iron. The natives were in general tall and robust. The chief, named Toobou, to whom they paid the most profound respect, was advanced in age, and very corpulent. He treated Maurelle with the same profuse hospitality that Cook had experienced at the more southern islands. Water was not, however, to be obtained sufficiently nigh at hand, and that which oozed into a pit dug by the Spaniards proved too brackish to be used. Maurelle therefore removed to a bay two leagues from the former, and in doing so lost two anchors. Here the ship was perfectly sheltered, and good water was obtained close to the shore. The Spaniards were entertained with the usual public diversions, and being always on their guard, the intercourse on shore was not interrupted by any contest; but the islanders who came on board stole every thing they could seize. They tore away the chain of the rudder; and after another had been substituted, one of the natives was shot dead in attempting to take that also. Maurelle sailed 19th March, through a channel to the south-west, which, as well as that by which he entered, was found to be perfectly commodious. He places his anchorage in latitude  $18^{\circ} 36'$ , and he called it *El Refugio*, or the Refuge.

The largest of these islands is nearly equal in extent to Tongataboo, and considerably higher, although not mountainous. It is highly fertile, and well cultivated, producing the same fruits and roots as elsewhere in these latitudes, and abounding more with the cloth-plant than any of the Friendly Islands. Maurelle named this group after Don Martin de MAYORGA, then viceroy of Mexico; and gives no intimation of the names used by the inhabitants.

Pérouse, who, in 1787, approached all the islands last described, but had no intercourse with the natives, takes it for granted that they constitute the country called by Cook Vavao, but pronounced

Vavōu by the Friendly islanders, and already spoken of as lying at the distance of two days sail from Hapac. But this space, according to Captain Cook's calculation, must exceed two hundred miles, which is more than double the distance between Hapac and the islands of Mayorga. Captain Edwards also explored this cluster in July 1791, naming it Howe's islands, and the anchorage Curtis's found. The ship was visited by two persons, called Futtasaihe and Toobou. Captain Bligh, in the *Providence*, accompanied by Captain Portlock, in the *Assistance*, when returning with the bread-fruit from Otaheite, laid to during the night, 3d August 1792, off these islands, and obtained provisions, but did not land. Two ships, which Maurelle understood to have been here prior to his voyage, might be those of Cook and Clerke, which the natives had probably seen at Hapac. By whatever name these islands ought to be distinguished, they present a favourable and a considerable object for the attention of our missionaries. The longitude assigned to them by Captain Edwards is  $173^{\circ} 53'$  west.

NEOOTABŌOTABOO and KOOTAHE are separated by a channel only three miles broad, in which is a small island; and are situated in latitude  $15^{\circ} 55'$ ,  $173^{\circ} 48'$  west longitude. The former is the more extensive, and is reckoned among the larger of the Friendly Islands. It is chiefly low, but has a considerable hill in its centre. It is divided into two unequal parts by a channel, which, at the mouth, is three hundred yards wide. Kootahe is very lofty, of a conical form, between two and three miles in diameter, and lies north-east from the former. Both are populous, fertile, and possessed of the same animals and vegetables as the islands before described. They were discovered by Schouten and Lemaire, 10th May 1616. Their ship anchored on the north-west side of Kootahe, half a mile from the shore, in sandy ground, with twenty-five fathom; but they sent a boat to the larger island to search for a better station. The natives swam around the ship, and bartered cocoa-nuts in abundance for nails and beads; but they endeavoured to seize the boat, and one of them was shot before

they desisted from the attempt. The chief of Neootabootaboo, who had the title of Lateo, came on board; and having invited the Dutch to that island, they were proceeding thither, when a thousand of the natives suddenly attacked the ship from their canoes, but were repulsed with much havoc by the cannon loaded with musket-balls. Schouten departed on the 13th of the same month. He gave the names of Traitors' and Cocoa islands to these discoveries, in consequence of the reception he met with. Captain Wallis fell in with them 13th August 1767, and called them Keppel's and Boscawen's islands. His boat's crew examined Neootabootaboo, and found a place for anchoring and landing, with fresh water, but inconveniently situated. Captain Wallis exchanged some nails for fowls, fruits, and one of their clubs, and proceeded the next day to the westward. The nails were in Poulaho's possession at Tongataboo, when Cook was there with him. Pérouse saw Kootahe 20th December 1787, and having the next day examined both the islands, laid to on the following, in a sandy bay upon the west coast of the larger division of Neootabootaboo. The natives brought off the finest cocoa-nuts he had ever seen, with other vegetables, as well as some fowls and a hog: they discovered no apprehension, and traded very freely. They resembled the more southern islanders in every thing, except that their looks indicated a ferocity, like that which characterizes their northern neighbours. The French did not suffer them to come on board, but punished the most trifling thefts with severity; having been recently exasperated by the murder of Captain de L'Angle and eleven more persons, at one of the Navigators' islands, which lie to the northward of these. A rocky bank, two or three leagues north of Kootahe, was found in 1616, with fourteen fathom water upon it.

An island was discovered by Schouten and Lemaire the day after they left the preceding, which they reckoned to be thirty Dutch leagues more to the westward. They judged it to be nearly of circular form, and about two leagues from north to south; but they express some uncertainty as to its extent. It is hilly, and covered with verdure, abounding with cocoa-nut trees, and populous. A large village

laid close to the shore. They called it Hope island, from the prospect it afforded them of obtaining refreshments. Of these they were nevertheless disappointed, not being able to land for the surf, which every where broke upon the coast. Sending a boat to sound, they found from twenty to forty fathoms, two or three hundred yards from shore, with rocky bottom; but there were no soundings a little further out. The natives acted as at Kootahe, and several of them were killed for attempting to seize the boat. They brought off vegetables only. The Dutch proceeded the same day to the westward.

Captain Edwards fell in with this island 5th August 1791, when he apparently meant to have visited the former two, but was carried too much to leeward. He places it in latitude  $15^{\circ} 53'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 51'$  west longitude. In the account of his voyage, it is spoken of as having considerable extent, and the houses as being of much larger construction than at the other islands of this archipelago. He named it Proby's island, but understood that the natives called it Onoo-afōu.

This name, and the distance of this island from Hapae, accord with the description given to Cook, of the Vavōu of the Friendly islanders; to which their term for an inhabited country, Wanoo, may have been prefixed by the natives, as it is to the names of several islands in this ocean. Computing the extent of the island by its proportionate distance from Kootahe, it must be nine or ten English miles in diameter, according to Lemaire's statement. Poulaho asserted that it affords as good anchorage as Tongataboo, and that it is larger, and has several streams of fresh water. Vavou is in high estimation among the Friendly islanders; and was, in 1777, the residence of Latoo-libooloo's mother and sister. A solemn mourning was also then celebrated at Tongataboo for a chief who had lately died at Vavou.

Two more islands were discovered by Schouten and Lemaire, the fifth day after leaving that last described. They destroyed some of the natives at their first interview, but were afterward hospitably entertained by them, and procured every kind of refreshment in great abundance. They were visited by a person bearing the title of Latoo.

and by another styled Arcekee, who was therefore probably the sovereign of all the Friendly Islands. He was treated by the other natives with the utmost deference. They are represented like those of the more southern islands in most circumstances, except in being destitute of clothing, and the females being deformed, and peculiarly immodest. The islands are hilly, fertile, and populous. The extent of them is not described. The ship anchored in a narrow roadstead, on the southern side of the principal island, two or three hundred yards from a stream of fresh water, in a depth of ten fathoms, with sandy bottom. Close on the outside of the ship was a bank, dry at low water. They place this anchorage in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 56'$  south. The islands were named Hoorn, after the Dutch port, where the vessel had been equipped; and the road was called Concord, after the ship's name.

If the Hope island of Schouten be Vavou, there seems little room to doubt that Hoorn islands are the country called HAMŌA by the Friendly islanders, who describe it as being two days sail from Vavou, to the northward of west, and agreeing in other respects with Schouten's Hoorn islands. They do not appear to have been visited by any other navigator, except we may conceive them to be the two islands where Maurelle obtained refreshments the 21st and 22d of April 1781; which, therefore, he named Consolation Islands. The figure and aspect of those described by him, and by Schouten and Lemaire, perfectly accord. Maurelle does not give the latitude in his narrative. That upon his chart differs from Schouten's by more than half a degree; but an error of that amount is not unlikely to have occurred in Maurelle's reckoning. No other discovery corresponds with his, any more than with Schouten's islands.

Hamoa is represented by the natives of Tōngataboo as the largest island of their archipelago; and Poulaho, who had frequently resided upon it, said that it furnished good water and abundant refreshments, and afforded harbour for ships.

The preceding account includes all the islands hitherto discovered which have usually been united under the same government. There

are two more groups, containing countries of greater extent than any yet described, with which the Friendly islanders are known to have communication. To these, also, our missionaries may therefore be able, through the Lord's blessing, to extend their labours from Tongataboo.

The very considerable cluster, of which either the whole, or some part, is called by the natives, FEJE, lies within three days sail in a canoe from that island. The more northern part of this numerous group was discovered by Tasman 6th February 1643. These islands and reefs are evidently the same that were explored by the Duff, and amidst which she met with the greatest danger that attended her voyage. They were named by Tasman Prince William's Isles, and Heemskirk's Shoals. They reach northward to the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 33'$ . Captain Bligh fell in with the easternmost of the Fejē islands, in  $178^{\circ}$  west longitude, the third day after his escape from Toofoa in the Bounty's launch; and he passed through the midst of them in a north-western course, which he could not have made in a ship, there being only four feet depth of water on one of the reefs which he crossed. In this direction, he found the group to extend four degrees westward from the first islands; and he saw several that had from thirty to forty leagues of coast, and appeared fertile, being pleasingly variegated with hills and valleys. His defenceless situation obliged him to avoid intercourse with the inhabitants. On his return from Otaheite in the Providence, 5th August 1792, he passed to the north of the first islands he had discovered in 1789, and coasted, upon the south side, some of those which had been discovered by Tasman. After having crossed his former track, he doubled the southernmost island of the group, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 15'$ ,  $178^{\circ}$  *east* longitude, and proceeded, 11th August, on his voyage, in a course to the northward of west. He landed nowhere, and the islanders in vain attempted to overtake the ship with their canoes, apparently with hostile designs.

The most western part of this group was discovered by Captain Barber, in the snow Arthur, 26th April 1794, on his passage from



Port Jackson to the north-west coast of America. He saw six of the islands, the largest of which he places in latitude  $17^{\circ} 30'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 15'$  east longitude. He anchored in a bay on its western side, and some natives who came off in a canoe were reluctant to come on board, and seemed to be unaccustomed to trade. The next day a number of canoes attacked the ship, and two of the crew were wounded by them with arrows. The savages attempted to board, but were repulsed with the ship's swivels and small arms. The navigation on this, as on every other side of the group, was found to be intricate and dangerous.

It is uncertain whether these numerous and extensive islands are connected together under a distinct government, or whether they are independent of each other, or mostly subject to Tongataboo. It is certain that at least some of the principal islands have been independent of its government, and occasionally hostile to it. They are also of a distinct race, speak a different language, and, beside spears and clubs, make use of bows and arrows in battle. In this they resemble most of the islanders who inhabit the larger countries to the westward; and differ from all who have yet been discovered to the eastward of this group. Many of the latter have bows and arrows, but they use them, as we do, only in sport: their missile weapons in war being no other than spears and stones. The intercourse of Feje with Tongataboo does not seem to have lasted many generations, but during the present century it has been frequent. The Friendly islanders regarded the people of Feje as superior to themselves, both in military prowess, and in mechanical ingenuity; their weapons and clothing being wrought in a more masterly style, and some manufactures, especially that of earthen vessels, being carried on at Feje, which are not attempted at Tongataboo. There also were dogs at Feje when there were none at the Friendly Islands, but they have been imported from thence since the latter group became known to the English. The stature of the Fejeans is superior, their complexions are darker, and their hair approaches to wool. They, moreover, retain the practice of eating the bodies of enemies whom they have killed, which is now

abhorred by all of the lighter race, except the inhabitants of New Zealand.

It is probable that the Fejeans are of the same race that occupies the most extensive islands in this ocean. Their prevailing ferocity renders the more western countries very dangerous of access; but it may be hoped, that the superior civilization of Feje, and its intercourse with Tongataboo, to which it appears that at least some part of this group has lately been subjected, may afford a favourable introduction of our missionaries among a nation of great extent, and in the utmost need of evangelical instruction. The only Europeans who are known to have landed at Feje, are Lieutenant Hayward, and a man who attended him thither, in a large canoe hired at Anamooka, for the purpose of searching after Fletcher Christian. Their inquiry was fruitless, but seems to have been conducted without danger.

The other group which has intercourse with the Friendly Islands, is that which was named by M. de Bougainville the NAVIGATORS' Islands. These are only ten in number, but some of them are remarkable for their extent, fertility, and population. They are situated between  $169^{\circ}$  and  $172^{\circ} 30'$  west longitude, and from latitude  $13^{\circ} 25'$ , to an uncertain extent southward. They are all lofty, like the Society Islands, but are neither surrounded with a low border, nor enclosed by reefs. The easternmost islands of the cluster seem to have been first discovered by Roggewein and Bauman in 1722. Another, of superior magnitude, was added by Bougainville in 1768; and the two westernmost islands, which are the most considerable, were discovered by Pérouse in 1787. Each of the latter is more than forty miles in length. All these were visited by Captain Edwards in 1791. Pérouse was informed of three more to the southward, named Shēka, Oflamo, and Oocera, which he could not fall in with. The native names assigned to the principal islands by the two navigators, Pérouse and Edwards, totally differ in every instance. PŌLA and OTĒWHĒI are those which they respectively give to the most western island of the group; OYOLĀVA and OHATŌOA to the next considerable island;

MA-ŌONA and OTUTUELA, to that which Bougainville discovered; OPŌON and TOOMANŪA, to the easternmost island. The name of Tootooēla, which is assigned by the people of Tongataboo to one of the larger islands known to them, agrees with the information received by Captain Edwards. It is notwithstanding difficult to conceive, how Pérouse mistook the name of the very island, where the assassination of the French navigators, already mentioned, was perpetrated in December 1787. Some remains of their clothing were seen there by the Pandora's people in July 1791. At Otēwhei the latter met with a person related to Fenou, commander in chief of the Friendly Islands. He had lately had a finger cut off on account of the illness which issued in the death of that chief. This circumstance demonstrates that some intercourse subsists between these two groups. The inhabitants of both have the same language, and the same general customs, that are common to all the eastern islands of this ocean. The natives of the Navigators' Islands greatly exceed the Friendly islanders in stature and strength, and are marked by a ferocity of aspect and manners unknown at Tongataboo. In some particular customs they appear also to differ considerably. It is improbable that they should be subject to Tongataboo; but the acquaintance they have with its inhabitants may render this important group accessible with safety to our brethren, in company with some of the Friendly Island chiefs, by whom they are already highly esteemed.

*Ohittahoo, and other Islands of the Group called the Marquēsas.*

THIS group is known to extend from  $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of latitude, and from  $138\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $140\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of west longitude. The inhabited islands, which have been discovered in it, are eight in number. They resemble the Navigators' Islands in their aspect and their coasts. In most, if not in all of them, there are bays or coves which afford harbour for shipping; but access to them is often made difficult by sudden squalls

of wind which break over the mountains and precipices. The natives exceed, in general beauty, those of the groups already described; especially the females, who are not disfigured by punctures, although the men are almost entirely covered with those marks. The women appear to be in greater and more general subjection at the Marquesas than elsewhere. Both sexes are inferior in personal cleanliness to the natives of Otaheite and Tongataboo, having less convenience for bathing. They use less clothing; and the chiefs are less distinguished from their subjects, except by the profusion of ornaments with which they are sometimes covered. The soil of these islands, for the greater part, is not so fertile as in any of the preceding groups; but the inhabitants are, probably in consequence of this deficiency, more active and vigorous than those of Otaheite. The bread-fruit attains here to the highest perfection; but when it is out of season the want of it is severely felt, at least at Ohittahoo, where articles of food to be substituted for it are scarce. The Marquesans resemble the Friendly islanders in paying a greater deference to age than the Otaheiteans, and in being exempt from the practice of infant murders, and other evils produced by the arceoe society.

OHITTAAHOO, which was selected out of the group to be a missionary station because it was best known to Europeans, is much inferior in extent to some of the neighbouring islands, being only nine miles long from north to south, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of lofty hills runs through its whole length, and is joined by other ridges, which gradually rise from the cliffs upon the coasts. They are divided by deep, narrow, and fertile valleys, adorned with trees, and watered by brooks and cascades. On the western side are several coves. That in which Europeans have usually anchored, is situated under the highest land in the country, in latitude  $9^{\circ} 55' 30''$ ,  $139^{\circ} 8' 40''$  west longitude. It bears south  $15^{\circ}$  east from the west end of a larger adjacent island, called Ohevahōa. The points that form the harbour (of which that to the southward is the highest, are about a mile asunder, and their distance from the head of the harbour

not much less. The depth of the water is from thirty-four to twelve fathoms, and the bottom clean sand. Two sandy coves within the bay are separated by a rocky point; and each has a rivulet and habitations in it. That on the northern beach bears the same name with the island; the other, which is nearly concealed among the trees, is called Innamei.

Alvaro Mendana de Neyra discovered this island and the three which lie nearest to it, in July 1595. He named them *Las Marquesas de de Mendocça*, in honour of Mendocça, Marquis of Canete, then viceroy of Peru, who had dispatched Mendana from thence, with four ships, for the purpose of occupying the islands of Solomon, which had been discovered by the same navigator twenty-eight years before. Being very uncertain of the distance of those islands from Peru, he was proceeding in their latitude to search for them, when he discovered the southernmost island of the Marquesas. On the 25th July he sent a boat to examine Ohittahoo, which he called *Santa Christina*, and having found the harbour already described, he named it *Port Madre de Dios*. Manriquez, who commanded the boat, landed, and marched with twenty soldiers, by beat of drum, round the northern village; but the inhabitants did not stir from their houses till the party halted, and called to them; when about three hundred men and women peaceably advanced. At the request of the Spaniards they brought several kinds of fruit, and some water contained in cocoa-nut shells. The women, upon invitation, sat down among the soldiers; but the men were ordered to keep at a distance, and to fetch more water in some jars which had been brought in the boat. They seemed disposed to keep the jars; upon which Manriquez brutally fired amongst them, and broke off their communication for that time. On the 28th, Mendana brought his squadron to anchor in the harbour; and mass being performed on shore, the natives silently attended to the ceremony. After taking formal possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, he endeavoured to establish a friendly intercourse with the people, and sowed Indian corn in their presence.

When he returned on board, he left the command of the party on shore to Manriquez, and a quarrel again soon took place; one of the soldiers was wounded by a spear, and many of the natives were killed by the fire-arms, with which they were pursued while retreating with their women and children to the woods. From thence they vainly attempted to annoy the invaders with lances and stones, and after some days they made overtures of submission, and brought presents of fruit to the guards which had been placed at the principal avenues. A familiar intercourse being renewed, some of the islanders and Spaniards formed particular friendships; and a man who became intimate with Mendana's chaplain, went on board with him, discovered great docility, and seemed distressed when they departed. Having refitted one of his vessels, and erected some crosses on the shore, Mendana sailed 5th July; but terminated his voyage without accomplishing its object, and died at an island which he discovered 55° to the westward of Ohittahoo.

It does not appear that the Marquesas were again visited by Europeans till 1774, when Captain Cook went in search of these islands, in order to ascertain their longitude. After meeting with some danger, in attempting to turn into the harbour of Madre de Dios, he anchored there 6th April. Several canoes had followed the ship as she passed the small harbours on the same coast to the northward, and others came off from shore as soon as she was anchored. A heap of stones was provided in each canoe; but the islanders finding their visitors peaceable, bartered with them in an amicable manner. This intercourse was renewed more abundantly the following day, but they betrayed the same propensity to theft which every where prevails in the Pacific Ocean; and one of them having seized and got off with an iron stanchion, was hastily shot through the head by an officer on board the Resolution. Hete-hete, who was then in the ship, shed tears at seeing this act of barbarity; and Captain Cook took much pains to restore the familiarity which had been interrupted by it. The islanders assembled on shore, armed with spears and clubs, and

drew up under some rocks on the north side of the harbour. Cook went to meet them with a party under arms; and Hete-hete having explained to them the wishes of the English, the natives appeared satisfied, and conducted them to a brook, where water was obtained for the ship. A brisk trade for vegetables was carried on, and some hogs were purchased. The presence of Cook was, however, found necessary to preserve the confidence of the natives, who acted precisely as if the conduct of the Spaniards, almost two centuries before, had been fresh in their remembrance. The women had been removed from this harbour, but several were met with at one to the southward of it, who discovered no reluctance to the licentious familiarities of the sailors. Hete-hete was soon able to converse fluently with the natives, whose dialect differs from that of Otaheite chiefly in not admitting the sound of *r*, and in having, like the Friendly islanders, the hard consonants unknown at the other group. They paid great attention to the information which he gave them of customs in which his countrymen differed from them, and especially of the mode of producing fire by the friction of dry wood.

A chief, named Hōnōo, and distinguished by the title of Heka-ae, came with many attendants to the landing-place, and exchanged presents with Captain Cook; but could not be persuaded to accompany him on board. He was decorated with a great variety of ornaments, and wore a cloak, while the rest of the men had only the mārō round their loins. His looks and manner indicated much good-nature and intelligence. The supplies of provisions seemed to increase in consequence of his visit, and no farther contest occurred; some thefts, which were committed, being suffered by Captain Cook to pass unnoticed, as his stay was designed to be short. He sailed on the 11th April.

A French navigator, named Le Marchand, visited the Marquesas about the year 1789. Several vessels, chiefly American, engaged in the fur trade, have also since touched here for provisions; and the commander of one of them, named Roberts, built a small vessel at

Port Madre de Dios, with which he proceeded to the north-west coast of America. It is reported that the people of Ohittahoo had persevered in the prudent measure of keeping their women at a distance from European visitors; and that, at this season, a contest was excited on the account, in which the respectable chief, Hōnoo, was killed by his brutal guests. This circumstance, which there is but too much reason to believe, may account for the very different conduct observed relative to the females of Ohittahoo, in subsequent visits at this place.

The *Dædalus* storeship touched at this island on her way from England to join Captain Vancouver, and anchored in Port Madre de Dios, 22d March 1792, in twenty-four fathom. Not being sufficiently sheltered from the land wind, her cable parted early the next morning: and while driving out of the bay, the ship was found to be on fire. In extinguishing it, many pieces of rotten bedding were thrown overboard, and the natives crowded round the ship to pick them up. When the *Dædalus* regained her station, and had been anchored closer in shore, it was observed that the buoy of the anchor from which they had been driven, had been purloined; but a piece of wood having been left by the natives in its stead, tied to the buoy-rope, directed them to recover the anchor. Lieutenant Hergeß, who sailed as agent in the *Dædalus*, went in the afternoon to the place for obtaining fresh water, which was at the distance of a mile from the ship; and finding the surf violent, he landed with only four men, in order to fill two water casks. The buckets used for this purpose were soon stolen by the islanders, who crowded round, without any person of authority to restrain them. They even snatched Mr. Hergeß's fowling-piece out of his hand; and there being but one musket left among the party, it was judged better to make good their retreat with this, than to employ it vindictively. On retiring to the long-boat, they found that some of the natives had, by diving, cut away the grapnel, with which it had been secured. When they regained the boat, they rowed close to the shore, and fired a volley of musketballs and



small arms over the heads of the crowd. All immediately fled to the woods, except one man, who stood his ground, and threw stones at the boat's crew. This bravado was suffered to pass unpunished, but four cannon shot were fired from the ship over the southern village, which was not above a quarter of a mile distant. This happily produced no worse effect than to terrify the natives, who fled in every direction to the mountains; and about sun-set one of them swam off with a green bough wrapped in white cloth, which he threw into the ship. Having thus discharged his embassy of peace, he immediately returned on shore.

The next day, Mr. Hergest repairing to the watering-place with an armed party, was cheerfully assisted by the islanders to fill and roll the casks, with which they also swam to the boats, and were suitably rewarded for their labour. They could not still be restrained from pilfering on board, and a theodolite belonging to Mr. Gooch, an astronomer, was carried off, but seasonably recovered.

A chief named Too-ou, who had visited the ship when she first anchored, returned on the 21th with a present of provisions; and two others, some days afterward, brought the grapnel which had been cut from the boat. They promised also to procure the fowling-piece, but came on board when the ship was ready to sail, without fulfilling their engagement. Mr. Hergest having well rewarded them for their former trouble, and being confident that they could have recovered his gun, informed one of them that he should carry him away if it was not speedily restored; and accordingly placed a sentinel over him in the cabin. The rest of the natives fled in alarm; but the fowling-piece was obtained in half an hour. The prisoner was then liberated, greatly to his joy; and presents were made to him, and to another principal person who had brought the gun on board.

The crowd of islanders having incommoded the ship's company in their business, the colours were hoisted, to signify that they must not come on board. The men submitted to this prohibition; but many of the women persisted in swimming to the ship, till muskets were

repeatedly fired over their heads, to deter them. Thefts were frequent and daring, and the chiefs seemed to want either authority or inclination to repress them. One man, who had made off from the ship with a bucket, was shot unintentionally through the calf of his leg, but no other damage was occasioned.

A good supply of vegetables was obtained; but few hogs could be purchased, and those at a rate unusually dear in the South-Sea islands. The harbour was accurately surveyed before the ship sailed, but the sketch given by Captain Cook was found to be sufficiently correct.

The Prince William Henry left Otaheite on the 29th March, the same day that the *Dædalus* sailed from Ohittahoo. She made a direct north-east passage to this island, which is therefore demonstrated to be practicable, although not known to have been performed by any other vessel. Her stay was very transient, and her voyage from Britain to the Sandwich islands was so rapid as to be accomplished in four months.

Captain Brown, in the *Butterworth*, accompanied by two smaller private vessels, anchored in Port Madre de Dios 1st June 1792, and staid only two days, to take in fresh water.

The degree in which the manners of the people at Ohittahoo had been corrupted, subsequent to Cook's voyage, was not known when the *Duff* left England; and the disappointment, occasioned by this change, appears to have produced the only instance that occurred among our missionaries, of shrinking from the work in which they were engaged. If the solitary condition of a very promising young man, who had the fortitude to remain singly on his post, should tend to delay the progress of the gospel at the Marquesas, it is hoped that this deficiency will soon be amply supplied. Obstacles, that are to be apprehended from long-established customs in the other groups, are here apparently not liable to oppose the truth; and we trust that a foundation has already been laid, on which others may build with great advantage.

To the northward of this island, and separated by a channel hardly above a league in breadth, is OHEVAHŌA, which extends six leagues north-eastward, and has a circuit of fifteen or sixteen leagues. It is more steep and craggy, especially toward the eastern point, than Ohittahoo; but its deep valleys, and the sides of the hills, are, like those of the former island, clothed with trees and verdure. Mendana, who discovered it on the Lord's day, named it on that account La Dominica. He sailed along the southern coast, as Cook did afterward, without discovering any harbour. This deficiency has prevented any farther knowledge of the interior country. It appeared in a much more advantageous light to the former navigator than it did to the latter. The natives have always attended at Port Madre de Dios, when European vessels have lain there; and they resemble the inhabitants of that place, with whom they maintain friendly intercourse.

ONATEYA, which was named San Pedro by Mendana, lies about five leagues eastward of Ohittahoo, and as much to the south of Ohevahoa. It is about three leagues in circuit, moderately high, and pretty level; with extensive woods, and pleasant plains.

The most southern island of the group, ten leagues distant from Onateya, was the first that Mendana discovered; and he named it La Magdelana, in allusion to the Romish festival on which he fell in with it, July 21, 1595. He coasted the southern shore the following day, and four hundred of the natives came off, some in canoes, some floating and swimming, to the ships. They offered cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, to the Spaniards, and invited them to land. Forty of the islanders, with little persuasion, went on board Mendana's vessel, and were presented with clothing; but they attempted to steal almost every thing they saw, which soon produced a contest. One of the Spaniards was wounded by them with a stone, and they suffered severely from the fire-arms. The squadron continuing under sail, they sent after it a canoe, with symbols of peace and friendship. This island was judged to be six leagues in circuit, and appeared populous

and fertile. Captain Cook, who saw it after leaving Ohittahoo, reckoned it to be nearly in latitude  $10^{\circ} 25'$ ,  $138^{\circ} 50'$  west longitude. Captain Brown, in the *Butterworth*, 27th May 1792, discovered a rock resembling a ship, north-eastward from the south-east point of this island, at the distance of five leagues. He did not anchor, but laid to off the southern coast till the 31st, and procured cocoa-nuts, plantains, and bread-fruit, for nails, from the canoes which came alongside, and by his boats from the inhabitants on shore. One of his people spent a night upon the island, and swam off the next morning. The natives are understood to call this island OHITTATŌA.

The only addition to the discoveries of Mendana, which was made by Captain Cook's visit to the Marquesas, is an island called by the inhabitants TEBŌOA, and by Cook, Hood's island. It is situated in the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 26'$ , and at the distance of five leagues from the easternmost point of Ohevahoa, nearly in the direction of N. N. W. It has a bluff appearance, and is of inferior extent to most others of the group.

The ships, which, at a later period, have proceeded to the northward, after taking refreshments at Ohittahoo, have made much more important discoveries in this cluster. It is said that Captain Le Marchand, in 1789, was the first who saw several islands at no great distance to the north-west of those which had so long before been discovered. An American named Ingraham next observed them, and supposed them to have been till then unknown, but did not land upon them. The only information respecting these islands, that has hitherto been published, was obtained during the voyage of the *Dædalus* storeship, in which they were particularly explored. The positions of the newly-discovered islands having been very incorrectly laid down by our countrymen who preceded Captain Wilson, we refer to his account and chart for their situations, forms, and extent; limiting our present notice to the circumstances which appear in the visits that were previously made to these islands.

The southernmost of the new Marquesas, ROOAPŌA, was called

Trevennen's island by Lieutenant Hergest, who examined it 31st March 1792. In its centre are two rocky eminences of vast height, and of singular figure, with several smaller peaks adjacent. Near the south-eastern point of the coast is a rock resembling a church with a spire. Several small bays are formed in the southern side, the best of which is terminated by the south-western point of the island. It was named Friendly bay, from the conduct of the inhabitants, of whom more than a hundred peaceably surrounded the ship with their canoes, and bartered fruits for beads and other trifles. They seemed to be very numerous on shore, and the eastern and southern sides of the island to be very fertile. The natives exactly resembled in appearance those of the preceding isles.

Due north from thence, and eight leagues distant, is NOOAHEVA, called by Mr. Hergest, Sir Henry Martin's island, which is the most considerable of the whole group, both for extent and fertility. The south-eastern cape, which he named Point Martin, forms, with the coast to the westward of it, a deep bay, well sheltered, and bordered by sandy beaches. At the head of the bay was observed, either a deep cove, or the mouth of a considerable stream. Two leagues farther westward is a fine harbour, with a sandy bottom, shoaling from twenty-four fathoms to seven, within a quarter of a mile of the shore. A stream of excellent water runs into it, and it is well sheltered from all winds. A beautiful plain extends for a mile and a half from the beach. The country is populous, and well cultivated. The people appeared to be lighter than those of Ohittahoo, and varied considerably from them in other respects. More than one thousand five hundred were assembled on the shores of this harbour, which was named Port Anna Maria. They received some people who landed from the *Dædalus* very hospitably, and sent of all kinds of provisions to the ship. The western side of the island was less populous.

Captain Brown, in the *Butterworth*, landed at Nooaheva 3d June 1792, about two months after the *Dædalus* had been there; and examined the north-western part of the island, upon which side likewise

very good harbours were found. The natives also behaved friendly and respectfully, but being strangers to white people, they were earnest to see whether their skin was of the same colour under their clothing as in their faces. Some peculiar ceremonies seem to prevail here: a woman, who, at the request of one of the English, brought him some fresh water to drink, would not deliver it to him till she had pronounced a long oration.

Early in February 1793, the *Dædalus* revisited this island on her way from the north-west coast of America to New South Wales, and anchored in Port Anna Maria. A friendly intercourse was renewed, but it was suddenly broken off by a quarrel between one of the sailors and an islander who had come on board. The latter having struck the Englishman, was shot by him after having leaped overboard. Upon this, a great number of war canoes were assembled, and the ship was attacked with stones. Lieutenant Hanson, who had succeeded Mr. Hergest in the *Dædalus*, was obliged to quit the harbour, after remaining there two nights, and proceeded to obtain needful refreshments at Otaheite.

Eastward from Nooaheva, at the distance of six or seven leagues, is ROOAHŌOGA, which was called by Lieutenant Hergest Riou's island. It is high and craggy, especially at the west end, but appears more fertile than the southern islands of the group. At this end is a shelf of rocks, extending about a quarter of a mile from the shore, which was named after Captain New of the *Dædalus*. This part of the island is destitute of any harbour for shipping, but on the southern coast there are appearances of convenient anchorage in two bays. Above one hundred natives assembled in canoes round the *Dædalus* upon her first approach to the coast, and bartered their provisions in a very friendly manner.

It is probable that this group extends farther, both to the north-west and south-east, than has yet been explored. Four uninhabited islands are all that have been discovered beside those already described. Of these, two, which are very small, are situated west by north from

Nooaheva, ten or twelve leagues distant, the other two farther off to the north-west, in  $7^{\circ} 53'$  south latitude. The largest of these latter is eight miles long and two broad. Upon its north-western side is a bay, affording good anchorage, fresh water, and cocoa-nuts. That side of the island has in general a fertile appearance, but the eastern coast is barren. The smaller island lies near the other toward the north-east, and some rocky islets are between them. Both the islands are high, and, though not inhabited, are occasionally visited. They were called *Robert's's* isles, and the two small ones before mentioned were named after Lieutenant *Hergeft*.

Mendana understood from the natives of Ohittahoo, that they sometimes visited, in a hostile manner, a country toward the south, the inhabitants of which were black, and used bows and arrows in battle. From Captain Wilson's particular inquiry on this subject, it appears, that if they had at that time any knowledge of such a people, it has since been wholly lost. It is more probable that the Spaniards misapprehended what was said; as that nation of the South-Sea islanders which corresponds to this description, is not known to extend farther eastward than Feje, which is two thousand four hundred miles from the Marquesas.

THE account that has been given of the numerous islands connected with those already occupied as missionary stations, suffices to illustrate the extent to which, under the blessing of our Lord, the gospel may probably be diffused, from the three central places to which it has been introduced. Were it possible here to insert similar accounts of all the countries which are situated between these groups and the coasts of Asia and New South Wales, the apparent importance of our efforts would be enhanced beyond what can be conceived from the specimen that is now furnished. It must not, however, be omitted, that people of the same race with the natives of the groups we have

described, are dispersed over the *Ladrone* and *Caroline* islands, which lie north of the equator, and extend from the 130th to the 175th degree of east longitude; and they have reached from the latter group, or from some intermediate places not yet discovered, to the Sandwich islands, which are situated between 155° and 160° west longitude, and 19° and 22° north latitude. Crossing the equator, probably from the more eastern of the Caroline islands, they have spread over the clusters of which we have given an account, and from the Friendly islands have reached the large country of *New Zealand*, between 34° and 48° south latitude, and 166° and 180° east longitude; while from Otaheite, or some of the islands south-east of it, they have made a surprising stretch to the solitary spot called *Easter Island*, in 27° south latitude, and 110° west longitude. The language and customs of this widely scattered nation have been traced to the coasts of the great Asiatic islands, Luzon and Borneo, and from thence to the peninsula of Malacca, the *Aurea Chersonesus*, beyond which the geographical knowledge of the ancients can hardly be said to have extended. The astonishing migrations of this race seem to have originated, like those of the northern Europeans, from designs of conquest. These they carried into effect on the coasts of the grand Asiatic archipelago, driving the black natives of those very extensive islands to the interior mountains which they still occupy as a distinct and independent people. But the migrations of the fairer race from the *Philippine* islands to the Carolines, and farther eastward, have almost to a certainty been occasioned by stress of weather, which drove their canoes from island to island, and from one group to another, that had not before been peopled. Frequent incidents of this nature have been ascertained, and some of them have been specified in our account of the islands connected with Otaheite. The population of islands so widely scattered, cannot, for the greater part, be otherwise explained, either upon the ground of established fact, or upon that of probable conjecture.

The original inhabitants of the great Asiatic islands seem, likewise, before they were driven back from their coasts, to have made very



considerable emigrations, although not to distances so remote as those to which their supplanters have been dispersed. The darker race has spread over the vast countries of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, with the adjacent islands of *New Britain*, *New Ireland*, and *Louisiade*, as well as those of *Solomon*, *Santa Cruz*\*, *New Caledonia*, the chief part of the *New Hébrides*, and the group called *Fejé*. Like the natives of Africa, whom in person they generally resemble, they are divided into numerous tribes, and are distinguished by various languages; yet there is a striking sameness in the customs even of those most remotely separated; and they all differ essentially from the nation that occupies the numerous smaller islands of this ocean. The former are usually more savage, and of inferior stature; but some of their tribes may, in these respects, be compared, or even preferred, to the least civilized colonies of their rivals. A New Zealander can boast little or no advantage over his neighbour of *New Caledonia*; and a Sandwich islander must apparently yield the palm to an inhabitant of *Fejé*. The superior hospitality of the *Otaheiteans*, the *Friendly islanders*, and the *Marquesans*, invited our endeavours to promote their best interests; and our election of this nation, and of those groups, has, through the blessing of God, been justified by the trial which we have been enabled to make.

All the islands of this ocean presented fresh ground for missionary labour, excepting the *Philippines*, the *Ladrones*, and a few of the *Carolines*, to which the Spaniards had gained prior access; *Japan*, once filled with converts to popery, but now without the shadow of christianity; and the northern *Kurile* islands, which are statedly visited by a Russian clergyman from *Kamtschatka*. That peninsula contains the only glimmering ray of christianity that enlightens the *Asiatic coast* of the Pacific Ocean, with the sole exception of the *Roman Ca-*

\* The groups named by Mendana the Isles of Solomon and Santa Cruz, are the same that, in page 292, of the following narrative, are called Egmont Island, &c. and New Georgia; those names having been given to them by Captain Carteret and Lieutenant Shortland, who imagined they were new discoveries.

tholics secreted in the Chinese empire. The coast of *North America*, from Behring's straits to *California*, is involved in more than Egyptian darkness. Upon the last-mentioned peninsula Spain has several missionary stations, where benevolent and laborious efforts are made, at least to civilize the miserable inhabitants. From thence to the island of Chiloe, in *South America*, it is to be feared that the Spanish conquests have led the natives rather to detest the name of christianity than to comprehend its nature. Crossing this immense ocean to *New South Wales*, at a distance of 135 degrees of longitude, we find the gospel preached with purity and zeal to a herd of our own countrymen, whose vices reduce them below the most abject class of the heathen world around. May the doctrine of the cross triumph there over the unparalleled obstacles it has to surmount; and may it advance from shore to shore, till it covers the hemisphere that is washed by the Pacific Ocean! Let him who reads say, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Thy kingdom 'come! Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven!"

P. S. On the general chart that describes Captain Wilson's track, those countries of the Pacific Ocean, which lie within, or southward of the tropics, are comprehended under the general name of AUSTRALIA, after the example of foreign geographers. As they appear to be divided between two distinct races of inhabitants, one of which almost wholly possesses the more extensive countries situated in the south-western part of the ocean, these are distinguished from the rest by the title of the *Greater Australia*: the numerous small islands inhabited by the fairer race being included under that of *Lesser Australia*. To the whole group, of which a part was discovered by Cook, and called by him the Friendly Isles, the title of *United Archipelago* is assigned upon the chart. The propriety of these innovations is submitted to the judgment of such among our readers as are accustomed to geographical researches.



# LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS

TO

CAPTAIN WILSON,

FROM

THE DIRECTORS.

*Aug. 5, 1796.*

**T**HE constant protection with which it has pleased the Divine Being to favour the concerns of the Missionary Society, renders it incumbent on us, before we enter on the immediate subject of our address to you, to make a humble and undissembled acknowledgment of the gratitude which is due to Him, and to recognise with thankfulness the frequent and manifest interpositions of his hand in favour of this institution.

Among many other occurrences which have appeared to us of a nature peculiarly providential, and which we have considered as the proofs of the condescending care with which it has pleased the great Head of the church to regard this undertaking, there has been none that excited more thankfulness to his name, or occasioned more universal satisfaction among ourselves, than the circumstance of your having been inclined to consecrate yourself to the service of God on this interesting occasion. We trust that the same Being, from whom the disposition has proceeded, will impart the grace which is requisite to accomplish the arduous service, and inspire the wisdom which is needful for the execution of its important duties.

Connected with us in the direction of the affairs of the Society, you are fully apprised of the nature and design of the expedition you have undertaken to conduct.

You are aware that it is not only in its nature singular, and almost without a precedent, but that it is also one of the most honourable and most important services which can be confided to a human being. The attention of the Christian world is very generally excited to the object, and devout intercessions are continually ascending like incense to heaven for its success. Should it be favoured with the blessing of God, it may be the direct means of imparting divine light and eternal life to great multitudes of immortal beings, and may form an æra of distinguished importance in the history of human redemption. In this view of the interesting nature of the business we are engaged in, it is with peculiar satisfaction and sincere affection, that we, the Directors of the institution, not only invest you with the command of the ship, and with full and complete authority for the management of its concerns in relation to the voyage; but also commit to your care and superintendence, during the same period, the more important charge of the mission itself, and especially of those faithful brethren who accompany you therein. Dear to our Saviour, in whose name they go forth, these apostolic men will have a strong interest in your affections also. Having forsaken their friends and their country for the love of Christ, and with the desire of spreading the honours of his name among the heathen, they will seek in your kind attention an equivalent for the endearing connexions they have relinquished; and you will be desirous of extending towards them the wise superintendence of a parent, and the affectionate sympathy of a brother. You will cheer the spirit that is liable to droop under the pressure of its anxieties, or administer the word of admonition to the disciple that is in danger of erring. You will be among them the centre of union, to reconcile their divisions, and confirm their love: the universal friend, in whose bosom they will deposit their diversified cares.

As it is needful that you should be furnished with instructions, both with respect to the voyage itself, and also with relation to the establishment of the mission, it is our duty to desire, that after having received your cargo on board, an invoice whereof you will be furnished

with, and also the missionaries who are to accompany you, whose names and occupations you will have an account of, you will please to proceed with all possible dispatch to Portsmouth, in order to join the East India convoy now lying there, to which you are to attach yourself, and to use every exertion in your power to keep company with it, as far as its course and yours are designed to coincide.

In case the convoy should stop at Teneriffe, you will procure four pipes of the best wine in hogsheads, for which you will apply to the house of Mess. Paisley and Little, and reimburse them for the amount by your draft on the treasurer to the institution. You will endeavour to procure from thence two or three bunches of dried grapes of the best kind, in order that the seeds may be planted when you arrive at the place of your destination; also a few pecks, or even quarts, of the best seed wheat, together with the seeds of such tropical fruits as you may think it would be advantageous to take with you. You will also endeavour to procure one ram sheep and two ewes, to be preserved for the purpose of breeding; also a male and female ass, for the same purpose. You will also at this place probably have an opportunity of giving your ship's company and the passengers several meals of fresh meat and vegetables; which, as it will promote their health and comfort, we are well persuaded will not escape your attention. On taking your departure from Teneriffe, we wish you to consider the port of Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brazil as your next object. At that place you will be able to lay in a stock of sugar very cheap, for the use of the ship's company and missionaries on the voyage, as well as for the latter after they are put on shore; as also tobacco, chocolate, cochineal-plant, and many other vegetable productions useful for consumption and cultivation at the settlement. Here you will also embrace the opportunity to procure a supply of fresh meat, and other desirable articles, for the refreshment of the ship's company, at a reasonable rate.

From this port we wish you to proceed by the way of Cape Horn to the island of Otaheite, there to put in execution the directions

which will be hereafter suggested, so far as they may appear to you eligible on your arrival. In the mean time, we think it material to provide against the probability of your meeting with a foul wind in your attempt to double Cape Horn; in which case, after having made the first attempt as close in with the land as you think consistent with the safety of the ship, we recommend you to stand to the southward to the distance of at least four or five degrees; when, if you still find the wind blowing steadily against you, rather than lose much time in attempting to beat against it, we advise you to bear up and run for the Cape of Good Hope, where you will find those refreshments which by that time you will stand in need of.

On your arrival in the South Seas, the destined scene of your benevolent exertions, the immediate prospect of the important service before you will impress your mind with peculiar weight, and you will be anxious to fulfil, to the utmost of your power, the engagement you have undertaken. You will then recollect, that the sphere of your activity is widely extended, and includes a considerable number of different islands remotely situated from each other; you will be reminded of the resolution of the general meeting, which was thus expressed:

“ That a mission be undertaken to Otahcite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pelew Islands, in a ship belonging to the Society, to be commanded by Captain Wilson, as far as may be practicable and expedient.”

This resolution embraces a plan of great extent and importance, and proceeds from the laudable and benevolent desire of introducing the knowledge of Christ into as many different islands as possible; you will therefore consider this resolution as the rule of your conduct, and keep it in your remembrance in all your proceedings. It is not to be departed from, without solid and important reasons; for, as the gospel of Christ is a blessing beyond the power of calculation to estimate, the desirableness of sending it to as many islands as possible is in proportion to its inestimable value. We do not mean, however, to encourage

you to adopt a system of missionary enterprise beyond the boundaries of discretion ; we do not urge you to depart from the principles of prudence and caution, which so important an occasion requires ; nor by attempting to introduce the advantages of Christianity in many places, so to divide your numbers as to weaken your efforts too much in each, and endanger your success in all. The resolution is not intended to prevent a wise and discreet circumspection. It is indeed desirable to introduce the gospel into several islands ; but it is necessary, if possible, to establish it in one ; for if you concentrate your exertions, and gain a solid establishment in one place, it may become the germ of other missionary efforts, and be a sacred leaven which may gradually spread its beneficial influence through numerous and distant islands of the South Seas. Thus you will perceive, that although the resolution by which you are to endeavour to regulate your operations is of great extent, and highly desirable to be accomplished, yet that it is limited by the considerations of practicability and expedience ; and of these you will of necessity be the best qualified to judge.

The question respecting the practicability of visiting so many distant islands must be decided by circumstances which it is impossible for us to anticipate ; and even to you, when in the South Seas, a mission may appear to be practicable, which you may nevertheless not think it expedient to attempt. For instance, the Pelew islands are the last which, in the order of your voyage, you will have occasion to visit. The character of the natives furnishes a strong inducement to establish a mission among them, and the attempt may also appear to be practicable : but would you think it expedient to take a few missionaries from the islands at a great distance to windward, at an uncertainty of the reception which a missionary plan might meet with in the former ? Suppose that, by a new chief having arisen with less favourable dispositions than the father of Lee Boo, or through any other cause, you should be prevented from leaving our brethren there, with perfect satisfaction to yourself and them, what would be the effect ? You could not admit of the waste of time and expenditure of money which it



would require to convey them to the islands where your other missions may have been established, even if your return thither against the trade wind was practicable; and you would probably have no alternative but that of bringing them with you to their native land. The same reasoning may apply with respect to the Sandwich islands. It is extremely desirable that the blessings of the Christian religion should be extended to those populous regions; but the indubitable accounts which we have lately received of the actual state of those islands, do not permit us to recommend the establishment of a mission among them at present. A variety of other considerations will occur to your mind when you are to decide on what is practicable and expedient. If you look over the inventory of the different articles which make up your cargo, supplied by the liberality of our friends, or furnished from the funds of the institution, you will probably conclude that they are much more adapted for the co-operation of a number of individuals in one or two societies, than for a distribution among more. When you consider the qualifications of the missionaries, you will perhaps be inclined to think, that remaining in one or two bodies, they may form models of civilized society, small indeed, but tolerably complete. There are some among them who are adapted to be useful by the improved state of their minds, and their fitness for taking the lead in religious services; there are others who are necessary on account of the skilfulness of their hands, and their knowledge of the useful arts: thus there would be among them that mutual dependence and usefulness which is the cement of the social order. If you should separate them into several parties for various missions, it would occur to you that this order and connexion would be very much broken; and as every mission should contain within itself a competent fund both of divine and human knowledge, you might perhaps find it impracticable to arrange our missionaries into several parties, and yet preserve among them these indispensable requisites. Among our brethren who accompany you, we trust you will find some who possess a considerable acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity in their foundation and

mutual dependence, and are qualified for the defence and confirmation of the gospel; but others of them have not perhaps a view of the subject sufficiently accurate and enlarged to fit them for the office of teachers. They understand indeed the doctrines of grace in the most precious sense, by experimental conviction; and having a general idea of them, may be very useful to the heathen by means of their conversation as well as their exemplary lives. But in every mission, however small, it is essential that there should be some whose minds have acquired a maturity in divine things, and who are scribes well instructed in the kingdom of heaven. This it might be difficult for you to accomplish, on the plan of establishing a number of different settlements.

If from these reasons, or others which may arise in your mind when you are amidst the scene of action, you judge that the cause of Christ among the heathen will be best promoted by the establishment of fewer missions, we shall receive great satisfaction in finding that you are able to visit more islands, with a view to the introduction of the gospel among them at a future period. By means of some of the Europeans now probably residing at Otaheite, who may be disposed to accompany you, your access to the understandings of the islanders will be facilitated; you will easily communicate to them the beneficial plan you are projecting in their favour; and you may ascertain how far a mission to any of them may be advisable. This mode of procedure is highly desirable, as it may throw a considerable light upon our future path, and assist our judgment respecting the designs of Providence toward these islands. It is the more to be recommended, on account of the great degree of probability there is of our revisiting them, soon after the safe return of our vessel from her present expedition; as it is evident, that, with the assistance of a freight homeward, the navigation to those seas may be hereafter undertaken at little comparative expense, and thus opportunities be afforded of frequent intercourse with them. Submitting these considerations to your attention, we now think it necessary to offer you a few more observations, derived

from the best information we can obtain, and the best judgment we can at present form on the subject: you will adhere to them or not, as you may find it expedient when you arrive.

It is well known that Otaheite is the island on which the general expectation has been fixed, as the place where our first mission is to be attempted; and we have no reason to alter the opinion we at first entertained of the eligibility of this spot: but as our object is to introduce the gospel of Christ among the heathen, all partialities or predilections to particular places must be made subservient to that end. We conceive you will visit that island before any other, and you will doubtless have an early interview with the chiefs. It must be left to your own discretion how far you will then unfold to them the occasion of your voyage. You will also probably soon be visited by some Europeans, and will most likely find means to conciliate their confidence, without committing yourself to them any further than you may deem prudent. All your discrimination may be requisite to fix on those among them who are best suited to become your instruments; from them you will learn the present state of this island, and perhaps of those adjacent, as to produce, population, disposition of the natives, and political relations. You will however be on your guard against misrepresentation, and by comparing different reports find out the truth. You will also guard against treachery and surprise. You will be cautious whom you admit on board; especially you will not allow the females, except the wives of the chiefs, and only a few at a time. Neither would it be prudent to permit too many of the English, if remaining at Otaheite, to be on board at once. You will take an early opportunity of visiting the smaller peninsula, as it has been represented by some voyagers to be the most fertile, well cultivated, and abounding with cotton and sugar-cane. Let the ship run down to the adjacent island of Eimeo, examine the harbours of Taloo and Avoitai, converse with the chiefs, learn the present state of that island, and the disposition of the inhabitants toward a settlement of some of our brethren among them.

After you have ascertained to your satisfaction the kind of treatment which the missionaries are likely to experience at Otaheite, you will be more capable of judging how to improve the remainder of your voyage, than we are at present. To assist you in the direction of your farther attempts, we recommend to your attentive perusal the papers which have been committed to you, containing a description and historical account of the islands that are connected with Otaheite, or included in the groups called the Friendly Islands and the Marquesas. You will compare them on the grounds of immediate advantage and future prospects. To this subject belongs the consideration of the safety of our women; probability of introducing our improvements, supply of provisions, the products of the islands in sugar, cotton, sandal-wood, &c. We are thus particular in suggesting these observations to you, because you are much better qualified than we can expect any of the missionaries to be, to decide on the most eligible spots for our settlement; and it is a circumstance of so much importance as to claim your utmost attention. You will doubtless on this subject hold very frequent communications with the missionaries, and especially with the committee, stating to them the grounds on which you may prefer one spot to another: as it would be peculiarly desirable to obtain, if possible, a perfect unanimity of the whole body as to the place of settlement; and the objections of those who may happen to think differently from yourself, or from the majority of their brethren, should be attentively heard and maturely considered. It is, however, very difficult for so many persons perfectly to coincide on any subject; and we therefore place the power of decision in a majority of the committee, provided that you, the president, form one of that majority. As we conclude that you possess a superior judgment on this subject to any of them, it appears to us to be a regulation highly conducive to their good, that no settlement should be made without your approbation. For the sake of relieving you from some part of the responsibility, we lodge in the same committee, and subject to the same rule, the power of deciding whether there shall be more missions than one

established, and where the subsequent ones shall be attempted. To this committee belongs also, under the same restriction, the control over the articles, implements, and utensils, which make up the cargo of the ship; and they, with your concurrence, are to decide, when, where, and in what proportions, those articles are to be landed. In case, however, of several missions being attempted, for the sake of strict and impartial justice we appoint, that two of the committee shall be taken from those who remain at the first settlement, and two others from those who are intended to be detached to any other: yourself, being the president, and perfectly disinterested, will have the power of administering justice toward both. It is however intended, that a quantity of articles, suitable for presents to the chiefs of islands which you may visit in your way to Canton, should remain on board, and you must have the power of deciding what articles, and what quantity of each, shall be reserved for that purpose.

To a number of serious Christians, who are, on all occasions, seeking divine direction, it will no doubt occur, that the determination of any question respecting attempts to extend the gospel is of such transcendent importance, as to require the most solemn invocation of Him who heareth prayer, for the interposition of his wisdom to guide you in judgment. An unanimity, or nearly so, of the whole body, on questions so interesting, and which are to be decided after a solemn season of devotion appointed for that special occasion, would afford considerable satisfaction to our minds, as a favourable intimation of the divine superintendence.

In negotiating with the chiefs, you will explain to them the advantages which will arise to them from our residence among them; that it may be the happy effect of their earnest desire, and not of our solicitation. As an inducement to us to prefer their island, they must give us a full title to the land we may have occasion for, guarantee to us the safety of our property from plunder, the enjoyment of our laws and customs, and the undisturbed exercise of our religion. Instead of exciting the jealousy of the chiefs by any importunity on our parts to

continue with them, it would be more prudent to shew a readiness to leave the island, and fix upon some other, that it may be understood by them, that our inducements to visit them have not been to receive advantages, but to confer them. On this principle, as well as for other reasons, we recommend that the land should not be purchased, but required, as the condition of our remaining with them: and that the presents we make should not be considered as payments, but as gratuities, the expressions and pledges of our good will. If you should determine to make a settlement at several islands, you and the committee will decide what number, and which individuals, should reside at each. If this should be the occasion of disputes which you cannot amicably terminate, we recommend your appealing to the decision of Divine Providence by a solemn and religious use of the ancient institution of drawing lots.

We have now finished the instructions which appeared to us needful to communicate with respect to the mission. The changes which may have taken place in the state of the islands since the last accounts, may make it necessary for you to depart from the advice which we have now offered, and resort to expedients more congruous to the circumstances before you, and better fitted to secure the great object.

On your arrival at Canton, you will address yourself to the factory of the India Company, and in all respects conform to the conditions of the charter, a copy of which you will take with you. You will in particular observe the necessity of your being there by the month of December, or at latest in the month of January 1798, that you may receive your cargo on board, and sail for Europe in the early part of the spring. Thus we shall cherish the hope of your safe return soon after the succeeding midsummer. In the mean time you will doubtless embrace whatever opportunities occur of writing to us either from Rio de Janeiro, or by the first ship which sails from Canton; and let your dispatches be addressed to Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, of London.

We have now only to commend you to the all-sufficient care and protection of Him who holds the winds in his fist, and the waters in the

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## INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILSON.

hollow of his hand. The throne of mercy will be addressed with unceasing supplications in behalf of your safety, and the success of your embassy. You are accompanied by the affectionate esteem of the excellent of the earth; and ministering spirits, we trust, will receive the welcome charge to convoy you in safety to the place of your destination. May they be glad spectators of the formation of a Christian temple in these heathen lands, and thus be furnished with the subject of a new song to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb!

Signed by Order of the Directors,

JOHN LOVE, Secretary.











